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MEMOIRS

OF THE

MARQUIS OF POMBAL.

VOL. I.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

MARQUIS OF POMBAL;

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM HIS WRITINGS,

AND FROM

DESPATCHES IN THE STATE PAPER OFFICE,

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

BY

JOHN SMITH, ESQ.

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE MARSHAL MARQUIS DE SALDANHA.

"Such men are rais'd to station and command
When Providence means mercy to a land.
He speaks, and they appear: to Him they owe
Skill to direct, and strength to strike the blow;
To manage with address, to seize with power,
The crisis of a dark decisive hour."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1843.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.

Sir,

When, from admiration of his character and genius, I first contemplated the task of compiling and submitting to the world Memoirs of that Illustrious Statesman, the Marquis of Pombal, and, even up to the moment when my labours were nearly at an end, I scarcely ventured to hope, I should be so fortunate as to present myself before the Public under the weighty sanction of your name.

While I very gratefully thank you for your ready acquiescence in this, the highest wish I could have entertained on a subject not always

of trivial moment, permit me respectfully to remark upon the peculiar propriety of this dedication, by adverting to the coincidence between your own exalted position in this country, and that once occupied by the great Minister of Portugal. Each, at a period of difficulty, was selected to sustain the honour and energy of a great nation; and from each were required the delicate discrimination, and firmness of purpose, which distinguished the late Marquis—qualities which won for him the admiration and full confidence of his country, and for which all wise and good Englishmen must confess themselves equally your debtors.

May your valuable exertions continue long, and be rewarded with complete success, and my parallel will thus be established throughout.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obliged and humble Servant,

JOHN SMITH.

☞ The Facsimile of the Letter from the Empress Maria Theresa, referred to in these Volumes, not being yet engraved, it will, when ready, be exchanged for this Notice at the Publishers'; where likewise a few Proof Impressions of the Portrait, on India Paper, price 5*s*., may be procured.

PREFACE.

A PREFACE to the Life of the Marquis of Pombal ought perhaps to be addressed peculiarly to his countrymen. For, if the author could venture to expect any commendation for his humble attempt to vindicate the character of that illustrious statesman from the aspersions cast upon his memory, he would especially desire to receive it at the hands of those readers, in whose breasts the name of Joseph Sebastian de Carvalho e Mello might be supposed to excite emotions of a proud and generous patriotism. History scarcely furnishes the parallel of another genius, whose fame has been so foully tarnished by the prejudice and malignity of his enemies. For, in what other light can we regard any biographer of Pombal, sprung from the race, or educated in the princi-

ples, of the Jesuits? If we could here forestall the details of the following Memoirs, we should with difficulty, amidst all the stirring events of that statesman's ministry, discover a measure requiring greater courage to originate, or fraught with more lasting importance in its results, than his expulsion of that sect from Portugal. This step first excited the wonder, but eventually was followed by the imitation, of the Roman Catholic Sovereigns throughout Europe; and whatever degree of admiration or of censure such a proceeding may inherit from the opponents or the advocates of ecclesiastical dominion, no Jesuit could hesitate in his condemnation, equally of its authors and advisers. For the Jesuits, at least, could admit no compromise between their proscribed and persecuted Order, and the man who first crushed their authority, and ultimately banished them from that empire which they had usurped. But the first writer who compiled the history of the life and times of Pombal was a member of the Jesuit Order. Born of Italian parents, he was destitute of all those sympathies

which constitute the nationality of a Portuguese; a citizen of an insignificant state, he could ill appreciate the enlarged views of commerce adopted by Pombal; the narrow system of the schools might naturally prejudice his understanding against those plans of universal education, which were applied under the auspices of Dom Joseph; nor is it possible to conceive, that the bigoted subject of an absolute prince could approve the development of those enlightened maxims of state policy, which are identified with the career of the Minister, whose Memoirs form the subject of these volumes. It is remarkable, that this writer concealed his own principles under the mask of an anonymous publication. Yet upon this anonymous, and, it may be added, anomalous history, all the subsequent accounts of that period are founded. The Jesuit's compilation has been followed by a variety of smaller publications drawn from no more authentic sources. These various productions will be found to differ from each other, principally in their bulk, in the order and variety of their incidents, and in the prominency

of certain characters; while their sameness is occasionally relieved by some slight modifications in the views of their respective authors, or by the introduction of some popular, perhaps newly invented, tale. But the same family resemblance is apparent in the features of each — they are evidently derived from the same Jesuitical stock. And, although it is not surprising that a Jesuit should have eagerly undertaken to write the life, and delineate the character, of the deceased minister; it is still less matter of astonishment, that such a biographer should have painted his hero in the likeness, alternately of a slave and a tyrant; a monster and a parasite; a hypocrite and a knave; — anything, however incongruous or impossible, anything but the individual, whose qualities the author has endeavoured, however feebly, to pourtray; anything, in short, but — Pombal.

The English reader may, however, inquire, "What has the present generation to do with the life of a Portuguese politician?" To offer a complete answer to such a question, were to anticipate the following Memoirs. But it may be replied

generally:— There have been eminent men, who not only reflected a lustre upon the people they instructed and the country they adorned, but cast their light onward over succeeding generations, and still shine as beacons to shape the course and guide the advance of an admiring posterity. The minister who rules in troublous times enjoys few of the sweets of office, whilst he incurs all its responsibilities. His indefatigable labours by day, his sleepless anxiety by night; the ceaseless round of his duties, comprehending subjects of unmeasured importance; the sacrifice of private feeling to public interests; the loss of society, and the privation of more than half the enjoyments of domestic life — what patriotism, be it ever so exalted, would encounter such an existence, if its reward consisted in the jealousies of supporters and the cabals of a hydra-opposition? Can it be supposed that those eminent men, who have contributed to the valuable legislation of their country, are doomed to be forgotten or disregarded, as the creatures of a temporary popularity, in whose examples their successors

have no concern? or will the reader deny to the regenerator of his country all reward but that of an ephemeral reputation?

Nor is it among his own countrymen alone, that the faithful servant of the crown must look for the esteem and approbation of posterity. It is not to stimulate the industry of the needy tradesman, or to amuse the attention of the careless passenger, that the beautiful Corinthian column is at this moment in progress to the memory of our immortal Nelson. The intelligent foreigner will lift his view above the bas-reliefs upon the base, until his eye surveys the rich sculpture of the capital, and contemplates the hero himself. From the beauty of the memorial, he will naturally pass to the character of the individual, and it is to be hoped, that whether the stranger stand before the column of Nelson, or the tomb of Pombal, he will not peruse the inscription without inquiring of the history, nor, while he admires the monument, protest his indifference to the man.

Ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἑκαστῳ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιαιτᾶται.

Moreover, the life of Pombal opens sources of attraction, especially calculated to excite the attention of the English reader; as, independently of the general interest attached to that portion of Portuguese history, the administration of that statesman was peculiarly English in its character and objects. Nor did his exertions in maintaining the commercial freedom of his country at all militate against this position. For, by ascertaining and adjusting the reciprocal rights of the merchants, he not only established a good understanding for the time, but provided the most effectual guarantee for the continuance of those friendly relations, which have proved so conducive to the prosperity of both people.

The progress of his government is likewise pregnant with examples, which the wisdom of the present age might not disdain to imitate. An administration embracing a period of twenty-seven

years, must necessarily furnish some great examples of wisdom or of folly, and must have contributed materially either to the happiness or misery of the people. And, perhaps, it may not be unfair to conclude at once in favour of the former qualities; since it is difficult to conceive, that a minister could have continued to govern so long, unless he had governed both wisely and well. Bad governments create bad subjects, and bad subjects will never endure a bad government, even if they be persuaded to tolerate a good one. "Twenty-two years," exclaimed Mr. Burke, "is a long space in the scale of the life of man; it is no inconsiderable space in the history of a great nation." Yet it was during a period of twenty-seven years that Pombal illustrated by his practice some of those essential maxims of state policy, which at that time were barely appreciated even by a legislature, then incomparably the most enlightened in the world, — the legislature of Great Britain. He has shown us how much positive good a government can confer. His was not a mere negative govern-

ment. His life exhibits the unusual picture of a ruler outstripping the intelligence of the age in which he lived; at the same time he has emphatically demonstrated what constitutes true reform. Pombal was no speculative reformer. He neither attempted innovation upon old established customs, for the sake of developing a new and fanciful theory, nor did he blindly propagate antiquated errors. No minister ever interfered so deeply with the great interests of society, without either disorganizing its elements, or obstructing its improvement. He did not bow down before the Idol of Reform, until he had lifted up the veil, and ascertained its truth; yet, conducting the march of civilization, he originated the views, unfolded the prospects, encouraged the enterprise, regulated or supplied the wants, and developed the energies of a nation. His writings will be found to contain some of the most valuable discoveries known to the modern science of political economy; and his administration in some measure reconciled two antagonist principles, by nursing domestic industry without

paralysing freedom of trade. But in the growth and cultivation of mind, — a subject comparatively novel to the debates even of a British parliament, Pombal remains still without an imitator. The distinguishing feature of his political and social reformation, lies in his profound and comprehensive plans of education, — a scheme at that period unrivalled among all the Roman Catholic countries of Europe. He here supplied principles in support of his precepts, whilst he illustrated his precepts by his example. The sentiments uttered by Cuvier, when, in 1809–10, that philosopher was charged with the organisation of the universities of Piedmont, Genoa, and Tuscany, had already been anticipated half a century before by the regenerator of Portugal; but the words of Cuvier are so descriptive of the scope and objects of Pombal's administration, that the author may perhaps be excused for inserting them here. "Give," said the ingenious French naturalist, "give schools before political rights; make citizens comprehend the duties that the state of society imposes on

them; teach them what political rights are, before you offer them their enjoyment: then all amelioration will be made without causing a shock; then each new idea, thrown upon good ground, will have time to germinate, to grow, and to ripen, without convulsing the social body. Imitate nature, which, in the development of beings, acts by gradation, and gives time to every member to grow to perfection. Institutions must have ages to produce all their fruits: witness Christianity, the effects of which are not yet accomplished, notwithstanding eighteen centuries of existence."

The measures of Pombal however produced the fruits of national prosperity, within the life and experience of their gifted originator. But this rapid development was particularly fostered by two causes, the absence of which, during subsequent periods, has mainly accelerated the decline of Portugal:—First, he possessed the entire and undeviating confidence of his Sovereign. The courage and constancy of Dom Joseph in this respect were admirably maintained, faithfully

merited, and deservedly rewarded. The king trusted the minister, and the latter conferred the blessings of an auspicious reign upon both king and people: and this mutual confidence contributed to effect the second source of that statesman's success, viz. a strong government. The weakness of a government is indeed proverbially an affliction upon the body politic; and, whatever may have been the secret motives of Napoleon, when he enforced that truth upon the minds of his audience,—however he may have perverted its application to an excuse for monopolizing in himself the various functions of the state,—the recent condition of Portugal justifies the language addressed by the French Emperor to the Chamber at the opening of the legislative session, twenty-five days after his coronation,—"La faiblesse du pouvoir suprême est la plus affreuse calamité des peuples."

The strength of Pombal's government was peculiarly opportune. Great occasions commonly produce great men, although it does not always happen that such men enjoy every facility for

carrying their views into effect. But the visitations of Providence are generally followed by the ministers and means of consolation. The earthquake of 1755 communicated its shock to all Europe, and the very features of the earth in and around Lisbon were, some of them engulphed in yawning chasms, and others obliterated by smoking ruins. Yet the very prostration of national energy consequent upon the general despair was favourable to improvement. The country was reduced to a condition of helplessness, to a state of national infancy; its vital powers were in a manner suspended; but its energies, though dormant, were not dead, and the plastic elements of civilisation were capable of being moulded into any form, which a vigorous intellect might select. The master mind alone was wanting. The genius of Pombal rose out of the ashes of Lisbon: the minister was formed for the emergency, and, being elevated to the plenitude of power, availed himself of the opportunity to regenerate his country.

The author feels that many apologies are due

from himself for the manner in which he has executed his task. His difficulties, however, were of no ordinary character. The life of an eminent statesman must indeed always be no less difficult to compile, than instructive to peruse. All the agreeable incidents and associations of his domestic life are swept away in the stream of his public career, and even contemporary writers, from whose accounts we might expect to gather the materials of an interesting memoir, have their attention so exclusively concentrated upon his public character, that they notice little beside it. But his biographer, should he attempt to follow his steps too closely, is in danger of alternately degenerating into a dry chronicler of bygone events, or assuming the infatuated zeal of a political partisan. The very copiousness of the subject became, in the present instance, a source of embarrassment. Under constitutional governments, and in more extended empires, the various departments of administration are necessarily controlled and directed, each by its

respective head, whose public acts are therefore confined within a more limited sphere. But the extraordinary character, who forms the subject of the following memoirs, himself possessed and exercised all the functions of a complicated government; and the author, while he felt compelled to trace his progress, has endeavoured to avoid conducting the reader too far into the wide field of legislation, across which his footsteps lead. To the history of that legislation, however, the author was obliged himself to resort in order to collect his materials for the following pages, as the existing memorials of the times could only serve to mislead. Left thus comparatively without a guide, the author was constrained to rely upon the scattered but authentic sources of information, which lay buried among the printed records and edicts at Lisbon, the archives of the Portuguese legation at Vienna, and the voluminous despatches at Her Majesty's State Paper Office. To the latter documents access was liberally afforded him, and their contents bear a more impartial testimony to the character of

Pombal, than could be extracted from the encomiums of his friends, or the censure of his enemies. Considerable delay intervened between the author's opportunities of consulting these distinct and distant authorities, rendering it impossible to preserve any consistent train of thought upon the majority of the events there recorded. If, therefore, it be found that incidents are occasionally introduced with too little preparation, or dismissed more abruptly than their importance would seem to demand, it is hoped the reader will not entirely forget the labour and difficulty of framing and connecting a variety of widely scattered, and sometimes contradictory materials, into one continuous narrative, but will regard the deficiencies of the work with a proportionate degree of indulgence.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

Former Greatness of Portugal — Free Constitution — Decline of Liberty — Naval and Commercial Enterprise — Discoveries — Madeira — Azores and Cape Verde Islands — Vasco da Gama — His Voyage round the Cape of Good Hope — Embassy to Prester John — Magelhaens — Discovery of the Gold Mines — John III. — Introduction of the Jesuits in Portugal — Establishment of the Inquisition — Rapid Decline from former Prosperity — Sebastian — Usurpation of Philip II. — Cruel Proscription — Malacca, Ceylon, and other Colonies seized by the Dutch — Expulsion of the Spaniards — John IV. — Cortes assembled — John V. — His Weakness and Superstition — Patriarchate established — Title of "Most Faithful" granted to the Kings of Portugal — Immense Edifices constructed — Mafra — Licentiousness of John V. — Excesses of the Clergy and Nobility — Famous Aqueduct built — Death of John V. — Disastrous Condition of Portugal - - - - - - Page 1

CHAPTER II.

Accession of Dom Joseph—Reflections on the Birth of Pombal—His early Pursuits—He enters the Army—His Marriage—He is appointed Minister to the Court of St. James—His successful Diplomacy—Satisfaction obtained for the Arrest of his Physician—His Departure from London—Disputes between the Courts of Rome and Vienna—Benedict XIV. seeks the Mediation of Portugal—Pombal chosen as Arbitrator by Maria Theresa—His Mission to Vienna—Death of his Wife—Marries the Niece of Marshal Daun—Autograph Letter from Maria Theresa—Personal Appearance of Pombal—M. Blondel's Opinion of Pombal—Quits Vienna and arrives at Lisbon—Secretary of State for the Foreign Department—Character of Dom Joseph Page 33

CHAPTER III.

General Reflections—Pedro de Motta—Jesuits—Inquisition—Defenceless Condition of the Kingdom—Trade revived—State of the South—Streets of Lisbon—Of London and Vienna—Finances—Colonies—Commercial Companies established—Indians in America declared free—Pombal makes Enemies—His Success in retaining the King's Confidence - - - - - - 59

CHAPTER IV.

Extracts from Pombal's Writings—General Remarks on the Condition of Portugal—Destructive Earthquake at Lisbon, Nov. 1st, 1755—Universal Misery—Immense Loss of

Life and Property — The Royal Family preserved — Pombal's Magnanimity — His memorable Apophthegm — Measures to alleviate the Distress — Martial Law proclaimed — Order re-established — Algerine Corsairs — Intrigues of the Jesuits — Lisbon rebuilt by Pombal — Appendix: Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office - - Page 81

CHAPTER V.

Fatal Effects of the Gold Mines on Portugal — Commercial Treaty with England — Importance of the English Alliance — Opinions of Pombal on Political Economy — Royal Treasury in 1754 — Appendix to Chapter V.: Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office - - - 107

CHAPTER VI.

Formation of the Oporto Wine Company — The great Advantages it conferred on Agriculture and Trade — Since virtually abolished by the Constitutional Government — Riots at Oporto in 1756 — Secretly instigated by the Jesuits — Pombal's Account of the Establishment and Progress of the Company — Appendix: Extract from Despatches in the State Paper Office - - - - - 133

CHAPTER VII.

Establishment of the Jesuits in Portugal — Simon Rodriguez — His Rise — Jesuits procure the Management of the University — Their Projects and Practices — Contrast between the Popes, Pius V. and Gregory XIII. — Gaspard de

Saulx — Jesuits carry on an extensive Commerce in South America — Exchange of Territory between Portugal and Spain — Opposition of the Jesuits — Disasters of the Allies — Pombal's decisive Measures — Dismissal of the King's Confessor — Complaints to his Holiness against the Jesuits — Cardinal Saldanha appointed to reform the Society — Former Prohibitions against the Jesuits — They are suspended from confessing and preaching — Appendix: Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office - - Page 159

CHAPTER VIII.

Remarks on the dangerous Position of Princes — Honour due to the Character of Dom Joseph — Aveiro Conspiracy — Chief Persons implicated in it — Attempted Assassination of the King — Great Secrecy observed in discovering the Assassins — Arrest of the Conspirators — Their Trial and Condemnation — Execution — Severity vindicated — Fate of the other Conspirators — Anecdote of Count San Lourenço — Malagrida — Church erected to commemorate the King's providential Escape — Appendix: Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office - - - - 183

CHAPTER IX.

Arrest of eight Jesuits — Malagrida — Property of the Society sequestrated — Its Expulsion from Portugal resolved upon — Memorial addressed to Clement XIII. — Papal Reply — Jesuits banished from Portugal — And from her Colonies — Brief of Clement XIII. — Quarrel between the Courts of

Rome and Lisbon — A Manifesto is published by His Most Faithful Majesty, detailing his Grounds of Complaint against the Court of Rome - - - - Page 215

CHAPTER X.

Manifesto published by the Court of Portugal — The Pope refuses an Audience to the Portuguese Minister — The Manifesto is delivered by M. D'Almada to the Cardinal Orsini — Complaints against the Cardinal Acciajuoli — His Expulsion from Lisbon — Rupture declared between the Courts of Rome and Portugal — Consequences of Papal Pretensions over the Civil Government of other Countries — Cardinal Torregiani — The Nuncio's Opinion of Dom Joseph and Pombal — Appendix: Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office - - - - - - 227

CHAPTER XI.

Regulations for the Rebuilding of Lisbon — Board of Commerce abolished — New Junta established — Its Purposes — The Nobility permitted to hold Shares in the Maranhao and Pará Company — Various Decrees — Civilisation of the Indians — Excellent Means employed by Pombal — Aula do Commercio established — Pernambuco and Pariaba Company formed — Educational Measures — The same adopted at Vienna — Jesuits begin to lose their Influence in that Capital — Lord Kinnoul sent to Lisbon to apologise for the Conduct of Admiral Boscawen — Convents abolished or reformed — Appendix: Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office. - - - - - - 293

CHAPTER XII.

State of the Army at Dom Joseph's Accession — Victories formerly gained by the Portuguese — And in the Peninsular War — Origin of the Quarrel between Portugal and Spain — Its Continuance — Family Compact planned — Its Object — Demands of France and Spain — Reply — The Spaniards invade Portugal — They publish a Manifesto — General Indignation it created — Portugal declares War against France and Spain — Memorable Sentiments of Dom Joseph on this Occasion — Defenceless Condition of Portugal — England sends Troops and Supplies — Count la Lippe arrives and takes the Command of the United Forces — Spaniards compelled to evacuate the Portuguese Territories — Peace concluded at Fontainbleau — Article 21st — Valuable Services rendered by La Lippe — A Navy is created by Pombal — Departure of La Lippe — His Advice to the Officers — Appendix: Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office - Page 317

CHAPTER I.

Former Greatness of Portugal — Free Constitution — Decline of Liberty — Naval and Commercial Enterprise — Discoveries — Madeira — Azores and Cape Verde Islands — Vasco da Gama — His Voyage round the Cape of Good Hope — Embassy to Prester John — Magelhaens — Discovery of the Gold Mines — John III. — Introduction of the Jesuits in Portugal — Establishment of the Inquisition — Rapid Decline from former Prosperity — Sebastian — Usurpation of Philip II. — Cruel Proscription — Malacca, Ceylon, and other Colonies seized by the Dutch — Expulsion of the Spaniards — John IV. — Cortes assembled — John V. — His Weakness and Superstition — Patriarchate established — Title of "Most Faithful" granted to the Kings of Portugal — Immense Edifices constructed — Mafra — Licentiousness of John V. — Excesses of the Clergy and Nobility — Famous Aqueduct built — Death of John V. — Disastrous Condition of Portugal.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE MARQUIS OF POMBAL.

CHAPTER I.

ENFEEBLED by foreign and domestic wars, Portugal no longer presents to the stranger that prosperous condition which she enjoyed when her enterprising mariners circumnavigated the globe, and her inspired poet, three centuries ago, sung the glories of his countrymen. Yet the early annals of the Lusitanian monarchy contain the records of innumerable achievements performed by a race of illustrious men, not unworthy of comparison with the time-honoured heroes of polished Greece, or the victorious epochas of martial Rome. The government of Portugal, founded so far back as 1139, was

raised, not as is the case with empires in general, by blood and conquest, but by military election. The same noble spirit that conceived, for a long period also preserved, its independence; boldly resisting the encroachments of the sovereign, and wisely restraining the licentiousness of the people. But the fatal influence of an illiterate clergy, with the blind superstition which they inculcated, debased the minds of the people, broke the spirit of their liberty, and extinguished their love of enterprise and glory. Then haughty Priestcraft, retiring behind the covert of his cloister, from thence thundered his anathemas; fear palsied the hand of labour; apprehension checked the effusions of the bard; and the aristocracy, forgetting their glorious origin, sunk into the listless indolence of oriental despots; while a voluptuous gallantry, restrained by no noble resolution, effeminated the vigour of national manhood, and destroyed the firmness of national character. Ambition, conquest, enterprise, learning, genius, — all were sacrificed to a love of listless inaction, by which life was ex-

hausted without acquiring wisdom, and talent destroyed ere its energies were developed. The clergy became dominant, — and the wealth of the noble, the hoards of the citizen, the coffers of the merchant, and the earnings of the mechanic — all the resources of industry — were merged into the unfathomable abyss of ecclesiastical rapacity. Henceforward blind superstition predominated in Portugal.

The cradle of maritime discovery, Lisbon seems formed by nature to be the seat of commerce. Hence, excited by the spirit of enterprise, which flourishes only under a free government, and in a country fruitful of resources, the Portuguese were the first of the European nations to despatch their sons to plough unknown seas; to brave untried perils; to navigate prodigious oceans; and explore untrodden lands. It was no trifling effort of the mind which could overcome the dread of dimly shadowed danger, the fear of hideous whirlpools, vast rocks, unimaged monsters, and all the inconceivable hazards, which, in the period of which we are speaking,

were supposed to be met with beyond the Pillars of Hercules—the *ne plus ultra* of Grecian exploration.

Glorious the rewards and unfading the laurels which Portugal acquired by these expeditions. It was in one of these voyages, in the 15th century, that the magnificent island of Madeira was discovered. In others, her hardy sons surveyed the entire line of the African coast as far as Sierra Leone, and colonised the Azores and the Cape Verde islands; while towards the close of the same century Bartolomeo Dias reached the Cape of Good Hope, which he named Cabo Tormentoso; and, not satisfied with his own discoveries, with the inextinguishable love of empire which characterised the Portuguese at that period, he despatched a messenger overland to Ethiopia to explore and describe the kingdom of the renowned Prester John. The result of this last enterprise did not however equal his sanguine expectations.

Soon afterwards, the Great Captain, as he is called, Vasco da Gama, sailed with three ships to

India, and doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the southern extremity of Africa. Fortune smiled on this bold enterprise, and the Lusitanian hero returned successful, after an absence of two years. His perils and exploits became the subject of the celebrated *Lusiadas*, a poem of which the Portuguese are justly proud; for to intrinsic merit it adds the glory of being the first living Epic that appeared after the Augustan age. By such enterprises as that of Da Gama, in a short period the Portuguese dominions in Asia were extended from Ormuz to Malacca. At this time the colony of Goa, now almost a solitary remnant of former vast possessions in the East Indies, was acquired; friendly relations were established with Persia; a settlement was obtained in China; and a free trade sanctioned in Japan. In short, by the judicious conduct of great generals abroad, aided by a wise administration at home, the possessions, the riches, and the power of Portugal increased to an extent till then unknown; while Lisbon became the depôt of Asiatic treasure, and the emporium of Eastern produce.

In the Western hemisphere the Portuguese were equally active and enterprising. In 1520 Magelhaens discovered the straits which still bear his name; but before he had perfected his discovery, he was unfortunately killed in a fray with the natives. However, from this time, large portions of the vast continent of South America became subject to Portugal, and national prosperity progressed to its climax.

Henceforth, however, we are to view little else than feebleness, declension, and decay. Nor are the causes which produced this state of things few, or of a vacillating nature. Among the first, the competition of other countries must be mentioned; but the most fatal was the colonization of Brazil, which, by depriving Portugal of her most enterprising inhabitants, took from her her sources of wealth — as by abstracting industry and application from her cities, and planting them on the shores of the Western world, was laid the foundation of a premature decay. From this unfortunate policy Portugal is still suffering. It was vainly imagined that the mines from

which she annually extracted the precious metals were inexhaustible, and that an increase of gold was an increase of wealth. And, even though the latter were true at the time, it was little suspected, that as gold and silver became plentiful they would decrease in value, while the labour of working the mine would continue the same, until at length the expense would equal or exceed the value of the produce. There were also other causes which hastened the downfall of the Portuguese monarchy; but these are to be referred to general principles, which apply equally to other countries as to Portugal, and need not therefore unnecessarily detain us.

It was when John the Third ascended the throne in 1523, that the rapid decline took a more active form. He seemed born, if not to complete, at least to hasten his country's ruin. Of a gloomy, saturnine, and superstitious temperament, his piety or his fears incited him to the establishment of the Inquisition, and to the encouragement of the Jesuit order. Suspicious, and devoid of any of those nobler qualities which

should characterise the monarch, and deficient in those higher sentiments of honour which should distinguish the soldier, and which make ambition greatness, he permitted the envy of his courtiers, and the jealousy of their less worthy competitors, to slander and destroy the reputation of those very generals to whom he owed all his security as a king, and Portugal all her influence as a nation: and having thus debased them in the eyes of the people, he found it no difficult task to recall, and leave them to perish in poverty and disgrace. His successor, Sebastian, ascended the throne with worthier aspirations. Influenced by the hope of reward, or stimulated by the thirst of glory, at the head of sixteen thousand men commanded by the flower of his nobility, he passed into Africa, with the intention to assist a banished monarch, and if possible to restore him to his throne: the conditions of this unfortunate enterprise being, in case of the successful termination of his invasion, the possession of the city of Arzila. But fortune frowned on the attempt, and the ill-fated monarch,

routed at the famous battle of Alcaçarquequer, lost his army and his life: nor had the miserable remnant of his soldiers, or the distant subjects of his neglected kingdom, the consolation of paying him those last rites of sepulture to which mankind in all ages have attached so much importance. For, whether slain in the battle, and allowed to moulder among ignoble bodies, or, flying from the fight, he preserved afterwards a strict incognito, and lived a living death in poverty and obscurity, still remains a mystery.

It was alleged, and many believed the report, that he subsequently appeared at Venice; but the claimant, though exciting great interest and curiosity, attracted neither the suffrages of the Portuguese, nor obtained the assistance of another chivalrous Sebastian to attempt a restoration to his throne, and he died in obscurity. His advent however was long expected, and even to the present century, there were many ignorant persons who, under the name of Sebastianistas, looked for his re-appearance.

At Sebastian's death, seven candidates com-

peted for the crown. Among these was Philip the Second of Spain; and as his claim was supported by an army of thirty thousand men, which he marched into Portugal, his rivals, unable or unwilling to oppose him, disappeared from the scene of action, and Portugal was annexed in the year 1580 to the kingdom of Spain. Camoens was spared the pain of witnessing his country's degradation, as he died the previous year.

But Philip's usurpation was established only at an expense of human life, a relation of which harrows the feelings and shocks the mind of the historian. We are credibly informed that so numerous were the slaughtered bodies thrown into the sea, that the people refused to eat fish until its waters had been solemnly purified by religious rites and ceremonies. From the towers of St. Julien alone, at the mouth of the Tagus, two thousand ecclesiastics were precipitated into the waves. A Portuguese historian, while recording these atrocities, exclaims in pious horror, "that the sea, unwilling to conceal so great a

crime, washed the dead bodies into the fishermen's nets; moreover, the fishes, offended at the insult, refused to be caught, refused to be food for men, wicked men, who, reversing the decrees of Providence, wished men to be food for them."* This indignation of the fish, according to history, lasted so long that the Archbishop of Lisbon, at the request of the fishermen, proceeded in grand procession to purify the deep, which after such unusual profanation had refused to yield its legitimate inhabitants as food for man. With what truth we will not pretend to determine, the Jesuits have been accused as the instigators of this horrible proscription, with the view, it is further stated, of increasing their wealth, and consolidating their power at the expense of their brethren. For the honour of the Christian Church and of humanity, let us hope that the charge of instigating these murders is untrue, and that their alleged desire to enrich and strengthen themselves by the ruin and destruction of their

* Conde de Ericeira. "Portugal restaurado."

countrymen, is but an exaggeration of their enemies. The character of the Spanish monarch is a sufficient explanation for all the cruelties inflicted at this period on unhappy Portugal, without seeking to affix the stigma of the fratricidal deed upon the body of the society of Jesus. It has enough to answer for, without superadding fictitious or unjust accusation.

Under the blighting government and paralysing sway of Spain, Portugal soon lost her position and importance in Europe, and at the same time her influence in Asia; while, her navy being destroyed and her commerce diminished, her blood and treasure were lavishly poured into the channels of Spanish prodigality. The wounds inflicted by the haughty Castilians have never been healed; nor has time, to the present hour, abated the animosity existing from that period between the two countries. And well that it is so for the independence of Portugal as a nation, which rests entirely on the fostering of her national feeling, and the concentration of her native energy; for her people are well aware that the

geographical position of Spain renders that kingdom a dangerous neighbour, and a suspicious ally. Nor do I believe that the views of those individuals of either country, who desire to see the two crowns united on the head of one monarch, in order that the peninsula might become one compact, independent, and powerful nation, can ever be realised. The national characters are too dissimilar to allow such a union to be permanent.

The Portuguese hitherto enjoying the monopoly of Eastern commerce, Lisbon had become the great mart of Asiatic produce, and thither all nations resorted. But when the Dutch went to war with Spain, and found themselves excluded from that port, in consequence of the Portuguese subjection to the Spaniards, they were compelled to trade directly to India themselves, and after a time, under pretence of the hostilities then waging between the two nations, invaded and took possession of the rich islands of Ceylon, Malacca, and many other settlements, which were never afterwards restored to Portugal.

But retribution was fast following in the steps of injustice, and soon overtook the evil doers. Spain herself began to decline. In this war with the Dutch, she lost the United Provinces, where no less than eighteen thousand persons, during the sanguinary government of the atrocious Alba, were put to death, either from political motives or religious persecution. Again, the invincible Armada, tossed by the waves, driven by the storms, and dispersed by the tempest, fell an easy prey to the just vengeance of the English, who pursued with fury, and destroyed without mercy, the floating castles of these Spaniards, who had threatened to carry them in chains to the foot of the throne of the disappointed Philip. Again another calamity awaited them, yet more deplorable in its transit, and more fatal in its consequences. To gratify the personal hatred or bigoted zeal of the Archbishop of Valentia, one million Moors, the most industrious and virtuous portion of the population, were driven from their country, and expelled to the arid plains of Africa, one tenth of whom are said

to have perished ere they reached the scene of their banishment. Human nature shudders at the contemplation of so much misery, and so much agony, inflicted by the wanton arm of an unworthy churchman. Spain never recovered this blow. It was the pouring out of the blood of her own heart. It was tearing out the organs which nourished and circulated the cold fluids within her stony bosom. Henceforth the Spanish monarchy was but a page of history — not an active or a living power; and so rapid was its decay, that though, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, it contained fifteen millions of inhabitants, yet in 1715 the population did not exceed seven — retribution rapid as it was frightful.

But the political atmosphere of Portugal was not for ever to be overcast by foreign dominion. In 1640 Catalonia and Biscay were stung by innumerable insults and contumelies into insurrection; and Portugal, seizing the opportunity, by one of those bloodless revolutions which so seldom grace the page of history, placed the Duke of Bragança upon the throne.

John the Fourth, the new king, called to the sovereignty by the acclamations of the people, as Alphonso had been in 1139, immediately summoned the Cortes; and this act gave great satisfaction, as it seemed to promise the people a share in the government of themselves, and the levying and distribution of their own taxes. But experience has shown, both in Portugal and in other nations, that the mere *forms* of a free government are insufficient to protect the people from the encroachments of arbitrary authority. Those enlightened maxims of state which compel monarchs to respect the lives and properties of their subjects, and those wise rules of conduct which guide them in the management of their liberties, and which are observed even in absolute monarchies of the present day, did not then exist; or, if they did exist, they were rather acknowledged than acted upon. For although the liberties of the nation had been solemnly guaranteed and defined by the Cortes of Lamego in the twelfth century, with as much care and precision as had those of the English

people in their celebrated Magna Charta, yet, at the period of which we are speaking, and even up to the eighteenth century, these theoretical rights were as little understood or enforced, as were those of the English in the reign of Henry the Eighth, when the mere fiat of the sovereign was sufficient to take away the life of any one of his subjects. Possibly the late cruel vassalage under the Spaniards had accustomed their minds to slavery; and the momentary assertion of their rights may have arisen only from the severity with which their bondage was accompanied. Be this as it may; the clergy, seeing the apathy that existed, seized the opportunity to increase their own influence, and to reconcile the people to the arbitrary exactions of their rulers. They succeeded but too well; and as the consequence of their bigotry, and the despotism of the government, the people remained ignorant, and the nation became broken in spirit, indolent in character, and poor in resources. Portugal, thus enervated and humbled, lost nearly all her Eastern possessions. Among the few settlements that

still remained was Bombay, at that time an unhealthy, barren, and worthless settlement, and therefore given in dowry to the Infanta Catharina when she married Charles the Second, king of England; the two governments little suspecting, or foreseeing, that a place so lightly valued was one day to be the seat of British empire in India. The other settlements which Portugal still holds in the East are of little value to her; and it is natural to suppose, that at no distant date they will be sold to the highest and best bidder.

In the year 1706 (the subject of these memoirs being then seven years old) John the Fifth succeeded to the throne, and two years afterwards, in his twenty-first year, married Marianne, daughter of the Emperor Leopold the First. He was of an inactive and luxurious disposition, and consequently a prey to those weaknesses and vices which spring from indolence and indulgence. In men of ordinary station, who are not elevated on the pinnacle of power, or who have not the burden of government to bear, this tendency to inertion is sometimes dignified with the

name of contentment, and lauded as a virtue, the offspring of wisdom and philosophy: but, in the sovereign, this is more frequently the result of incapacity of mind for the performance of great achievements; and, judging from its effects, is more allied to vice than to virtue. John was by nature a lover of leisure; and the long peace which his kingdom enjoyed under him was more owing to his temperament than to his love of justice, or his aptness for government. His easy temper made him a willing engine of the clergy, who estranged his thoughts from the government of his kingdom, and placed them on the erection and endowment of churches and monasteries; by which means their power and influence increased in his reign, until it reached a monstrous and almost incredible height. At this time there were no less than eight hundred religious establishments in Portugal itself, which nourished in indolence and unproductiveness, too often in vice and immorality, more than one-tenth of the entire population of the country. But of all the ecclesiastical absurdities of this reign, that which

most distinguished it was the organization of a church establishment on the model of that of Rome. For this purpose, John, having entered ardently into the project of his clergy, applied for, and succeeded in obtaining from the court of Rome, permission to appropriate the riches of the country as he thought fit; but not, however, without paying immense sums for the concession. Following up this plan, a higher ecclesiastical office than any hitherto held in the country was created, and a dignitary appointed to preside over the church in Portugal, under the title of Patriarch. To this high office was added a sacred college of twenty-four prelates, to whom was granted, by royal ordinance, the right of being addressed by the title of Excellency;—a distinction at that time highly prized, as it was almost exclusively confined to the grandees of the kingdom; a class which did not even comprise the nobles bearing the rank of Viscount. To render the resemblance of this ecclesiastical body to the Court of Rome still more striking, the vestures of the Patriarch, on days of solemnity, were made

similar to those of the Pope himself; while the prelates wore the scarlet robes in imitation of the cardinals. In the performance of the church ceremonies they aimed at rivalling, and even excelling, the pomp and magnificence of the illustrious body which they had chosen as a model. Above one hundred subsidiary dignitaries, of various ranks and titles, filled subordinate posts in this novel establishment, and on these also were lavished honours and dignities in profusion; while an infinity of lower offices augmented the number of the Patriarchate, until it was impossible to say in what obscure capacity the last of the long legion of ecclesiastical subservitors was known to terminate. No less a sum than 80,000*l.* annually was expended in this worse than useless vanity; besides other immense sums that were lavished before permission could be obtained to incorporate the establishment. From this time Dom John, by an express Bull of the year 1748, was permitted, both in his own person and that of his successors, to bear the title of " Most Faithful."

The erection of an immense building at Mafra was another gigantic undertaking, to which Dom John devoted many years of anxious solicitude, and on which he expended vast sums, which might have been more profitably employed in improving the agriculture, the manufactures, and the commerce of the country. The beauty, extent, and magnificence of this noble pile, compel us to regret that so much wealth, labour, and talent had not been expended on some enterprise more in accordance with the spirit of the age, or more adapted to the wants of the nation. But the utility of the work never seems to have occupied the attention of Dom John. He was satisfied that his object was piety, and the flattery of his parasites the truth; while the whispers of vanity, like evidence in a doubtful case, decided the question. It was certainly a gigantic undertaking. The building contains a church, a palace, and a convent; each built on the most splendid scale, and enriched with the most lavish art; — for the most celebrated artists of Italy

were employed in their construction.* With this costly magnificence in Mafra, he exhibited a still

* The author of Vathek thus describes this sumptuous edifice: —

"We entered the church, passing through its magnificent portico, which reminded me not a little of the entrance of St. Peter's; and is crowded with the statues of saints and martyrs, carved with infinite delicacy.

"The first *coup-d'œil* of the church is very imposing. The high altar, adorned with two majestic columns of reddish variegated marble, each a single block above thirty feet in height, immediately fixes the eye. Trevisani has painted the altar-piece in a masterly manner. It represents St. Anthony in the ecstasy of beholding the infant Jesus descending into his cell amidst an effulgence of glory.

"To-morrow being the festival of St. Augustin, whose followers are the actual possessors of this monastery, all the golden candelabra were displayed, and tapers lighted. After pausing a few minutes in the midst of this bright illumination, we visited the collateral chapels, each enriched with highly-finished bassi-relievi and stately portals of black and yellow marble, richly veined, and so highly polished as to reflect objects like a mirror. Never did I behold such an assemblage of beautiful marble as gleamed above, below, and around us. The pavement, the vaulted ceiling, the dome, and even the topmost lantern, is encrusted with the same costly and durable materials. Roses of white marble and wreaths of palm-branches, most exquisitely sculptured, enrich

further impoverishing prodigality in Lisbon. In order to propitiate or gratify the Jesuits, in the

every part of the edifice. I never saw Corinthian capitals better modelled, or executed with more precision and sharpness, than those of the columns which support the nave.

" Having satisfied our curiosity by examining the various ornaments of the altars, we followed our conductor through a long covered gallery into the sacristy, a magnificent vaulted hall, panelled with some beautiful varieties of alabaster and porphyry, and carpeted, as well as a chapel adjoining it, in a style of the utmost magnificence. We traversed several more halls and chapels, adorned with equal splendour, till we were fatigued and bewildered like errant knights in the mazes of an enchanted palace. I began to think there was no end to see spacious apartments. To be sure, we advanced at a most rapid rate, striding from one end to the other of a dormitory six hundred feet in length in a minute or two. These vast corridors, and the cells with which they communicate, three hundred in number, are all arched in the most sumptuous and solid manner. Every cell, or rather chamber, for they are sufficiently spacious, lofty, and well lighted, to merit that appellation, is furnished with tables and cabinets of Brazil-wood.

" The library is of a prodigious length, not less than three hundred feet; the arched roof of a pleasing form, beautifully stuccoed, and the pavement of red and white marble. * * *

" The dome may certainly be reckoned among the lightest and best proportioned in Europe."

church of St. Roque, a building of the meanest architectural pretensions exteriorly, he consecrated and ornamented a small chapel, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, in the most sumptuous and the most resplendent manner. This chapel, in proportion to its size, was probably the richest in the world. It is but seventeen feet in length, by twelve in breadth, and yet the ornaments and decorations cost no less than 225,000*l.* It was adorned with the rarest marbles and the most exquisite mosaics, and literally dazzled the eyes with the varied and brilliant hues of lapis lazuli, porphyry, amethyst, chrysolite, alabaster, silver and gold. In consequence, however, of this and other misappropriations of the revenue, the army and navy were almost annihilated, the fortifications fell into ruins, and the defences of the country were no longer tenable. There existed a nominal navy, and a nominal army; dismantled fortresses, and abandoned castles; nominal lines of defence, and nominal regiments of observation: in short, the government was but the skeleton of an Executive power; it wanted all that gives

life to it—men, money, and munitions of war—the blood, sinews, and sustenance of a country.

The Cortes had not been assembled since the year 1698, while the united functions of a deliberative and executive body were usurped and exercised by the clergy and the nobility. Both were equally ignorant, ambitious, haughty, and tyrannical; both equally averse to any alteration in the existing order of things; and both equally determined, at whatever risk, by arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings, to prevent the people from achieving any act which might be supposed capable of exciting in them their ancient love of freedom, or which might lead to a demand of that share in the administration of their own affairs, which had been unjustly and disgracefully wrested from them in their moments of victory and excitement. Licentiousness was general; nor was the veil of hypocrisy thought necessary to conceal from the public eye that which the monarch not only encouraged but openly pursued. In the convent of Odivellas, within whose sacred walls were three hundred beautiful recluses, John V.

sought and obtained those relaxations and voluptuous indulgences which little accorded with his outward piety. In this view of his character we are forced to consider John rather as the Sultan of an Eastern empire, than the monarch of a Christian state.

The highest classes of the nobility disgraced themselves by the most savage and the most sanguinary excesses. The streets of Lisbon echoed at nightfall with their riotous shouts and hateful brawls; while the lives of the quiet citizens, lost in self-defence or expended in wanton frolic, were unavenged and unatoned—the aristocratic malefactors, screening themselves with their riches, or sheltering themselves under their rank and affinity to the Crown, escaped unpunished and unmolested. Under such a government, industry was depressed and enterprise arrested; and both, uncertain of reaping the reward of action and exertion, desisted from effort and sunk into inanition. Even the persevering and money-loving Jews, persecuted and obstructed in their attempts to win a reluctant and a painful competence,

abandoned their avocations and fled the country. It is alleged, however, before they took this desperate step, that they offered John 200,000*l.* annually (a vast sum for those days) to be allowed to locate themselves at Almada, a large village situated on the high ground opposite Lisbon, originally built by the English, when they went to support the Portuguese against the Moors in the thirteenth century. The offer, however, was refused.

Amidst all this folly, weakness, and misfortune, one undertaking, begun and completed during this reign, merits the highest praise — not only for its magnificence, which rivals any thing of the kind that ancient Rome attempted or achieved — but from its utility. This is the grand aqueduct of Alcantara, which conveys vast supplies of water from a distance of two leagues to supply the wants of the capital. It was commenced in 1712 and finished in 1732. It crosses the deep valley of Alcantara near Lisbon, and is at that spot supported by thirty-five arches, the loftiest of which is two hundred

and sixty-four feet from the ground, with a breadth of one hundred and eighty between the bases. Two spacious channels conduct the water from its source, on each side of which is a pathway for passengers on foot.

Having, in his government and amusements, sketched an outline of the life and propensities of John V., it will not excite astonishment or elicit surprise, when we find him sinking into imbecility and fatuity—a condition to which his father had been reduced previous to his death—and abandoning himself to the most abject practices of superstitious devotion. In this condition he vegetated rather than lived the last nine years of his life, and died in 1750, leaving his country burdened with a debt of three millions sterling, and apparently on the brink of ruin.

CHAPTER II.

Accession of Dom Joseph—Reflections on the Birth of Pombal—His early Pursuits—He enters the Army—His Marriage—He is appointed Minister to the Court of St. James—His successful Diplomacy—Satisfaction obtained for the Arrest of his Physician—His Departure from London—Disputes between the Courts of Rome and Vienna—Benedict XIV. seeks the Mediation of Portugal—Pombal chosen as Arbitrator by Maria Theresa—His Mission to Vienna—Death of his Wife—Marries the Niece of Marshal Daun—Autograph Letter from Maria Theresa—Personal Appearance of Pombal—M. Blondel's Opinion of Pombal—Quits Vienna and arrives at Lisbon—Secretary of State for the Foreign Department—Character of Dom Joseph.

CHAPTER II.

Dom Joseph the First, on his accession to the throne, had completed his thirty-sixth year. Having never been allowed to take an active part in the administration of affairs during the long period of his father's incapacity, he found himself suddenly called upon to undertake the government of a country, which his predecessor had left in the worst possible state of disorganization and misery.

In the complicated affairs of life, in the fluctuations of mercantile prosperity, and in the evils of misgovernment, there is always a tendency to reaction after every depression or every excess; and communities, as well as individuals, are thus taught the proper measure of speculation or endurance. Thus remedies are dis-

covered for political grievances, when those grievances have reached their acme; and for amendment of morals, when immorality, ceasing to be partial, becomes general in its effects. But when the cause of misfortune happens to be ignorance, and that ignorance is fostered by the ministers of religion as an essential part of their system, men are unable to free themselves from the shackles which confine them: because, when they attempt to emancipate themselves from these bonds, they are sure to be accused of attempts to sap the foundations on which the fabric of religion itself is constructed. The very first step, therefore, of their progress is arrested; and it is precisely in this first step that lies the success, or failure, of a desperate attempt. Despair may beget courage; poverty may excite industry; disease may compel sobriety; and oppression arouse the voice of liberty; but a bigoted, and therefore contented, ignorance never seeks the light of instruction to dispel the darkness in which it is enveloped; nor attempts to absolve itself from the spell of

that remorseless superstition, which, not content with excluding from its followers the light of truth, compels them also to be blind to the beauty of knowledge. This superstition, the morbid tyrant of the mind, preserves its dominion by threats of punishment in the next world, while it does not hesitate to inflict certain chastisement in the present. Happily for mankind, such an abuse of religion no longer exists in Christian Europe.

Never in the history of any country, at any period of its threatened dissolution, does there appear to have been found fewer principles of regeneration than in the kingdom of Portugal at the death of John. And yet at that very moment, when every prospect of returning prosperity was obscured, and Fortune herself seemed to abandon the unhappy land to a premature and precipitate destruction, one powerful genius arose, and from the mighty depth of his transcendent mind, like the Athenian goddess springing from the brains of Olympian Jupiter, a new order of things commenced. To him was intrusted by Providence,

the arduous task of checking the latent springs of evil; of moulding the most incongruous and discordant materials to proper shape and form; of unmasking hypocrisy, and purifying the church from abuses; of recalling learning, reanimating commerce, and restoring prosperity; of redeeming and supporting the dignity of the crown; of adding splendour and renown to the annals of his country; of extending her reputation, reluming her ancient genius, asserting her ancient rights, and again restoring her to that rank and consideration in the councils of the European powers, which the culpable misgovernment of her degenerate sons had allowed to lapse from their grasp, but which the Genius of their country would not permit them to lose. And this man was Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, afterwards Count d'Oeyras, and Marquis of Pombal.*

This illustrious statesman was born, on the

* As this great man is so generally known by the name of Pombal, I am induced to employ it throughout these Memoirs.

thirteenth of May 1699, at Soure, a small village not far from the town of Pombal. His father, Manoel Carvalho, was a country gentleman of moderate but independent fortune, belonging to that class who are distinguished in Portugal by the title of *Fidalgo de Provincia*, a distinction which entitled him to the numerous privileges attached to nobility, although not to the rank and immunities of a grandee of the kingdom; that honour, as before stated, pertaining only to such of the nobility as enjoyed the title of duke, marquis, or count. His wife, Theresa de Mendonça, a lady of distinguished family, bore him three children: one, the subject of this memoir, and two other sons, Francis and Paul.

According to a custom prevalent in Portugal, by which the mother's name is often borne by some of the children, Sebastian added to his own name that of Mello, which was that of his maternal ancestor, John d'Almeida e Mello, the representative of a family very distinguished in Portuguese annals. His second brother was

called Francisco Xavier de Mendonça; and the youngest, Paul de Carvalho e Mendonça.

Of the particulars of the early life of Pombal it is to be regretted little is known. He entered the University of Coimbra as a matter of course; and having toiled through the usual routine of the unprofitable studies at that time insisted upon at this seat of learning, quitted it with disgust, and probably with a firm conviction that it was impossible for the light of true learning ever to penetrate the academic shades of Coimbra, so long as it was obstructed by the impenetrable obstacles which were opposed to its entrance.

Having left the university, Pombal entered the army as a private, according to the custom in Portugal. He was shortly afterwards promoted to the rank of corporal, which rank he continued to hold until he relinquished the army as a profession, being one, at a period of peace, neither suited to his active disposition, nor seemingly calculated for the display of his rising genius. Having nothing to occupy his time and

attention, he confined himself exclusively to the study of history, politics, and legislation.

While engaged in the pursuit of these studies, he was presented by an uncle, who lived in Lisbon, to Cardinal Motta, at that time high in favour with John the Fifth, and whose hands consequently held the reins of government. The cardinal, with an intuitive knowledge of character for which he was remarkable, quickly perceived the advantages which the country might one day derive from the genius of Pombal; and while he warmly encouraged him in his pursuits, he recommended him so strongly to the king, that as a mark of the consideration with which his literary acquirements and reputation were viewed, he was appointed, in 1733, member of the Royal Academy of History, founded in 1720: and shortly after, as a further proof of the estimation in which he held his talents, John was desirous that Pombal should undertake the history of certain Portuguese monarchs. But affairs of an important and pressing nature prevented the accomplishment

of the task for which he was so eminently qualified.

In the same year in which his talents attracted the attention of the government, and procured him the patronage of royalty, he united himself to Donna Theresa de Noronha, a widow of a very ancient family, being a niece of the Count dos Arcos.

Being now settled in life, and desirous of distinguishing himself, he sought some active employment in the state: but no vacancy occurring in any department suited to his desires, or calculated for his abilities, he continued unemployed until the latter end of the year 1739; when an affair happened which determined the king, by the advice of the cardinal, to send him to London as minister. This honourable appointment he gladly accepted, as he viewed it as an additional means of enabling himself to combine the study both of legislation and of politics in one. It is evident, therefore, that even at this early period of his career, when as yet he had enjoyed no opportunities of distin-

guishing himself, or of developing his talents, anticipations and expectations of his subsequent greatness and abilities were felt and recognised by the monarch; and that his appointment to fill so important a post, was an indication that the utmost confidence was placed in his tact, judgment, and discrimination, by those who wielded the destinies of the country.

That he was neither idle, nor forgetful of the true interests of his country, when a minister at the court of St. James's, appears from his having succeeded in obtaining various privileges for Portuguese subjects resident in London, as well as satisfaction for several commercial vexations to which they had at various times been made to submit; while he exacted a promise that they should under no pretext whatever be afterwards inflicted. It was also conceded to his government the right of punishing, according to law, all British subjects who should be convicted of malpractices and crimes committed in the dominion or territories of Portugal. Pombal further obtained satisfaction for an insult that had

been offered to a person attached to his legation; and was thus instrumental in ascertaining and defining the privileges of foreign envoys, which were still often the subject of dispute, notwithstanding the previous act of parliament passed in 1709 for the purpose of protecting ambassadors and their domestic servants from arrest. This was the case of a physician in the service of Pombal who had been arrested by a tax-gatherer, but who was set at liberty upon the remonstrance of the Portuguese minister.*

The nature of Pombal's occupations during this period we learn from a manuscript written by himself, a translation of which will be found in its proper place. In this document he regrets

* In the Journal of the Count d'Oeyras, afterwards referred to, a curious circumstance is related, respecting the debts of foreign ministers. The Journal is dated London, June 14th, 1783. "We saw likewise (in Westminster Abbey) two cases, in which repose the corpses of two ambassadors — one of Spain, the other of Sardinia — which have been preserved there for more than a hundred years; interment being refused them, until their debts are paid." The curious may inquire into the particulars of these facts.

that the great variety of studies he found it necessary to pursue, in order to become acquainted with the history, constitution, and legislation of England, coupled with almost constant ill health, prevented him from acquiring a knowledge of the English language. Some surprise might naturally be expressed at such a statement, especially as Pombal was several years in England; but we shall cease to wonder when we reflect that French was the language chiefly spoken at the court of George the Second, while there were at that time few or no works in English on politics or legislation, which made the study of that language desirable exclusively for these purposes. It is certain also, that the disturbed state of the north of England, during his residence in London, interfered very materially with his studies and leisure. It was therefore from the French writers that he principally derived his knowledge; and while he gave his days and nights to the contemplation and examination of the ministries of Sully and Richelieu, and sought to master the financial principles of Col-

bert, Sully insensibly became his model and the object of his veneration: and in the after actions of his life, his successful imitation of that great man is so conspicuous in the various circumstances connected with his career, that his warmest admirers need not fear the closest comparison with his illustrious prototype.

In 1745 Pombal was recalled, it is supposed, at his own request: for the Court of St. James's could then have been no bed of roses for a Catholic ambassador, a proclamation having been published in 1744 "to put the laws in execution against all papists and nonjurors; and for commanding all papists to depart from the cities of London and Westminster, and from within ten miles of the same, by the second of March*; for confining all papists to their habitations, and for seizing the arms and horses of such as refused to take the oaths."

While unemployed at Lisbon, Pombal had abundant opportunities of observing and study-

* The proclamation was dated the 15th of February.

ing the causes of abuses in every branch of administration. He examined the different departments of the state with the practical eye of a legislator, and saw that the remedy lay in temperate and judicious reforms; that the fault was in the governors, not in the governed; and that the character of a nation is formed, and its energies elicited, by wise enactments and salutary laws; by directing, not obstructing, the progress of intelligence; by instructing, not corrupting, the people; by cherishing their virtues, not fomenting their evil passions; removing, not fostering, their prejudices; and, lastly, by tempering, not exasperating, their superstitions, national pride, or popular delusions. He believed that the seeds of virtue, and even of genius, are equally distributed among all nations, and that all that is requisite in the legislator is so to apportion his labour, as to distribute a due share of protection to all classes and parties in the state, to ensure for a government good citizens, and for a country estimable inhabitants. Pombal acted on these principles, as will be seen

hereafter; and though, in the words of a modern author, "he found the country infested with robbers, trade decayed, landed property entirely in the hands of the nobles, and the people depraved," he put forth the powers of his mighty genius, and brigandism disappeared, commerce was restored, property was more widely distributed, and the people became industrious, prosperous, and happy.

While busied in these useful observations, his talents were again solicited in a most delicate and difficult negotiation. A dispute had arisen between the courts of Rome and Vienna respecting the extinction of the patriarchate of Aquileia, which in its consequences threatened to be serious, as all misunderstandings with the court of Rome must necessarily be, as they lead to a separation from that church, and tend to destroy the integrity of the Catholic faith, the great principle of which is, and ought to be, "Unity in the Church."

Not only did Benedict XIV. seek the mediation of Portugal, but Maria Theresa, a princess

as renowned for her virtues as she was celebrated for her wisdom, and whose countrywoman at that time swayed the sceptre of Portugal, in the capacity of regent during the king's indisposition, was also anxious to refer the question to a Portuguese, in whose probity, understanding, and virtue both parties might confide. Accordingly, Pombal was selected as the fittest person to proceed immediately to Vienna as minister, with full powers to arrange this delicate affair. It is not improbable, also, that he was named by Maria Theresa herself, as a minister whom she was willing to receive at her court in so important a capacity; as it is but reasonable to conclude that one whose reputation was so well established in his own country, and whose successful negotiations in England were generally reported and admired, could not have been unknown to a princess whose knowledge was as various as her genius was profound. The preparations for his departure having been completed, he set out for Vienna, where he arrived in 1745. After various negotiations, mutual

concessions, and engagements, Pombal, to the infinite satisfaction of his Holiness, of Maria Theresa, and of his own sovereign, arranged the affair amicably and conclusively.

It was while at this court that he received information of a severe domestic affliction in the death of his wife, to whom he had been tenderly attached, and with whom he had lived in the greatest possible harmony. Pombal bore his loss with the resignation of a Christian; but the solitude of a single life was not suited to a man of his pursuits. The recollection of the many happy days he had enjoyed made him anxious again to enter the marriage state, to which second union he was the more inclined as the first had not been blessed with offspring. It was not long, after the usual period of mourning, before he made his selection from among the ladies of the court, in the person of the young Countess Leonore Ernestine Daun, daughter of Henry Richard Count Daun, a family illustrious in the annals of Austria from the fame and victories of the celebrated Marshal of that name, to whom Maria

Theresa, as she confessed, owed the possession of her crown.* This affection being reciprocated, and the consent of the family obtained, after certain inquiries had been made, and satisfactory assurances given, and proofs adduced of Pombal's suitable birth and estimable character, the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and éclat at Vienna, under the immediate auspices of the Empress, who was now, and ever after during her eventful life continued, a firm and steady

* This celebrated Marshal, loaded with honours, and preserving to the last the esteem of the noble Empress, whose throne he had secured, died in the month of January, 1766. Maria Theresa, some years before his death, had presented him with 250,000 florins, to enable him to purchase an estate, that might remain in his family, and descend to his posterity. The Empress of Russia acknowledged his services by the gift of a sword, richly set in diamonds, and valued at 30,000 florins. At his country house, a few posts from Vienna, were to be seen the six cannons which the Empress sent to the Marshal after he gained the battle of Colin; and the inscription engraved on them does honour to the family of Daun.

See fac simile autograph letter from the Empress prefixed to volume the second.

friend to him and his amiable wife. This union was in the course of time blessed with two sons and three daughters, of whom we shall make mention at a future period. In the meanwhile, some description of Pombal himself will perhaps tend to explain why he was so generally successful in his negotiations, and so great a favourite in whatever society he happened to be placed.

Pombal was remarkably tall, well made, and handsome; his countenance intellectual and expressive; his manners engaging, and his diction easy and flowing, while his voice was melodious and persuasive in the extreme. Notwithstanding these natural advantages and acquired accomplishments, his enemies, reasoning from the wholesome severity with which he found it necessary in numerous instances to visit delinquency and punish vice, during his very long ministry, have designated him as harsh and repulsive in his appearance, and as distant and cold in his manners! This picture is contradicted by every thing we know of his amiability and urbanity in private life, which qualities have

never been denied, supported as they are by the testimony of many with whom the author of these memoirs had the honour to be personally acquainted. It has been the fashion to represent Pombal as a stern and harsh minister, and thus to extenuate the crimes of the wicked, by imputing their punishment to the severity of their judge. Calumny was but the natural consequence of the position in which he was hereafter placed, and of the painful duties which he had to perform. I shall therefore refer to an impartial account of Pombal's manners and disposition at this period, written by an individual who had full opportunities of forming a correct judgment. At the Foreign Office, Paris, under the head of "Austrian Correspondence No. 244.," we find the following extract from a despatch of the French minister, M. Blondel, then at the court of Vienna, addressed to his government. It is dated January 10th, 1750.

"M. de Carvalho a été long-tems ministre de Portugal à Londres, d'où le roi son maître l'a fait passer ici pour y employer ses offices afin de

rétablir la bonne intelligence entre cette cour et celle de Rome. Il a été également chargé de faire recouvrer à l'électeur de Mayence les bonnes grâces du Pape. Dans ces deux affaires il a donné des preuves de son habileté, de sa sagesse, de sa droiture, de sa douceur, et surtout de sa grande patience, et il s'est non seulement concilié la bienveillance de toutes les parties intéressées, mais aussi de tous les ministres étrangers, et des personnes de consideration qui sont ici. Il est noble en tout sans ostentation; il est sage et très prudent; rempli de sentimens et principes d'honneur, ne visant qu'au bien général; et je sais qu'il n'a pas dépendu de lui que l'impératrice n'adoptât plus tôt des sentimens pacifiques. Il est aussi bon citoyen du monde qu'ami solide, et il a été fort regretté de la cour et de la ville. Il a environ 50 à 55 ans, et s'est marié à Vienne depuis quatre ans à la fille de la Générale de Daun.*" The letter concludes by observing

* Translation.—M. de Carvalho was for a long time Portuguese Minister at London, and afterwards was sent to Vienna by the King his master, in order to exert his influence

that Pombal was about to return to Lisbon, in order to take charge of the portfolio for foreign affairs, to which post he was called by the Queen-regent during the life of Dom John.

Thus we perceive from the impartial testimony of the French minister, in a document which was never intended to see the light, the true character of Pombal. And we may further remark,

in re-establishing a good understanding between this Court and that of Rome (Maria Theresa having abolished the Patriarchate of Aquileia). He was also charged with restoring the Elector of Mayence to the good graces of the Pope. In these two affairs he afforded many proofs of his skill, wisdom, uprightness, and amiability; and especially of his great patience, by which he acquired the esteem, not only of the parties interested, but also of the foreign ministers and persons of distinction at this Court. He is noble without ostentation; wise and prudent; full of honourable sentiments and feelings, and desiring nothing more than the welfare of all parties. I know that, had it depended entirely on him, the Empress would long since have adopted more pacific sentiments. He is both a good citizen of the world, and a sincere friend, and is exceedingly regretted both at court and in society. He is between fifty and fifty-five years of age, and has been married for these four years to the daughter of General Daun.

that it was not by intrigue, as his biographers have represented, that he was appointed to fill the important post of minister for foreign affairs, but in consequence of the high consideration in which he was held at his own court. He left Vienna, much regretted, in the beginning of 1750, in company with his wife, and arrived safely at Lisbon a short time before the death of Dom John.

Dom Joseph having ascended the throne, Pombal immediately took possession of the portfolio destined for him, and from this era we must date the commencement of his almost superhuman efforts for the regeneration of his country. Whatever were the failings of Dom Joseph, or however his neglected education rendered him incapable of governing without the assistance of superior abilities, fortunately for Portugal, he was possessed with a firmness of mind, a steadiness of purpose, and an innate love of glory; and was firmly convinced that by means of such a minister as Pombal, whom he highly esteemed, his reign would be distin-

guished even above those which preceded it, in the most flourishing days of colonising Portugal. Blessed in the possession of a Sully, probably he aimed at the glory of a Henry IV. This may account for the courage and resolution with which he supported his minister against innumerable intrigues, and indefatigable malice, for the long period of twenty-seven years.

CHAPTER III.

General Reflections — Pedro de Motta — Jesuits — Inquisition — Defenceless Condition of the Kingdom — Trade revived — State of the South — Streets of Lisbon — Of London and Vienna — Finances — Colonies — Commercial Companies established — Indians in America declared free — Pombal makes Enemies — His Success in retaining the King's Confidence.

CHAPTER III.

Pombal now found himself in the full enjoyment of the King's confidence, and at liberty to bring forward those measures of reform which he had deeply meditated and patiently matured. But it was necessary to begin with caution, and to proceed with care; not only as he had no guarantee for the continuance of the king's favour; but in order that he might not provoke the opposition and resentment of two powerful classes in the state—the nobility and the clergy. It is pretended, on what authority is not sufficiently evident, that he once exclaimed, if ever he became minister, he would make Portugal in twenty years superlatively happy, or superlatively miserable. Without doubt Pombal saw clearly the means by which Portugal was to be

rescued from her ignominious position; but, when he reflected on the difficulty and danger of introducing those measures through which so many unjust appropriations were to be restored, and so many abuses corrected, it is more than conjectural that he himself doubted the results of his wisest plans, and that at times he must have looked upon the task of regeneration as almost impracticable. Nevertheless, whatever may have been his secret doubts, or his private misgivings as to success, we shall find him, during his long career as a minister, directing his attention to abuses in every branch of the administration, and exerting his energies in every subordinate spring of action, in the minutest details of office, and in the remotest objects of government. We shall see industry encouraged, and trade consequently revived; agriculture flourishing; manufactures increased; the revenue augmented; population doubled; efficient armies organised; a powerful navy created; justice impartially administered; hypocrisy exposed; learning rewarded; the proud humbled;

the humble exalted; and the slave enfranchised. All this and much more was performed by Pombal; for he created a sentiment of public morality, a sense of unity and virtue, which serves as a bond of union and strength, and distinguishes a prosperous nation or a well-organised army, and which, for a long period, rendered Portugal one of the most considerable powers in Europe.

Although Pedro de Motta was nominally at the head of the government, his declining health did not permit him to take that active part in the administration of affairs which his position would naturally imply; and consequently, from this time all the laws and ordinances which issued from the closet of the king may be considered as emanating from Pombal, for Dom Joseph took no measures whatever without consulting him. But Pombal was not permitted to issue his wise decrees, or to put in force his patriotic measures for the restoration of his country, without encountering opposition. The Jesuits took the alarm, and were not long in conspiring his ruin. But as their intrigues, crimes, and rewards, with

the conspiracies of the nobles, and their deadly hatred to Dom Joseph and Pombal, will form the subject of a separate chapter, it will suffice merely to advert at present to the powerful obstacles Pombal had to surmount, or to remove, ere he placed his country in the enviable position in which he left her. The first five years of the reign of Dom Joseph were consumed in devising and putting into force active measures to ameliorate the condition of the interior government of the country, and in arranging and settling the financial schemes of the minister. Another, and an important reform, at a very early period of his ministry, attracted the attention of Pombal. He determined on restricting and regulating the jurisdiction of the Holy Inquisition, as it was termed, and prohibiting its private tortures and public executions, which for so long a period paralyzed the minds of the people, and disgraced the government of the country. It is, however, but justice to the Portuguese to declare that their national character was never, at any time, polluted by that wholesale cruelty which distin-

guished the sanguinary reign of the Inquisition in Spain; nor did Lisbon ever witness, to the same extent, those horrible exhibitions called *auto-da-fé*, which, for a long period, rendered Madrid infamous in history, and abhorred by all true Christians and enlightened men. The Portuguese were distinguished by milder measures and more charitable sentiments, the fruit of their maritime and commercial intercourse with the other nations of Europe, which expanded their minds and removed or softened their prejudices. Pombal saw that such an institution as the Inquisition was perfectly incompatible with the progress of the arts, the existence of science, or the presence of liberty, and resolved at whatever hazard to reduce the authority of that miscalled Holy Office. So early, therefore, in his ministry as 1751, a decree regulating its practices was promulgated. By this decree it was enacted, that no *auto-da-fé* was henceforward to take place, and no executions were to be carried into effect, without the consent and approbation of government, which reserved for itself, as a court

of appeal, the province of inquiry and examination, and of confirming or reversing the sentence, according as it appeared right or wrong on the face of the evidence. By this effectual blow the Office of the Inquisition was humbled, and from thenceforward it dwindled down to the rank of an ordinary tribunal; — a fact which compels us to admire the wisdom which conceived, and the courage which carried out so bold a stroke of policy, in the execution of which so many fierce opponents were to be subdued, and so many virtual enemies were to be created. But, with that invincible perseverance which distinguishes the genius of a statesman, Pombal carried his measures, notwithstanding the virulence of superstition, the power of the priesthood, and the prejudices of the people.

To convey some idea of the defenceless condition of the kingdom previous to the ministry of Pombal, it is only necessary to relate, that, a very few days before the death of Dom John, some Algerine corsairs actually anchored off Cape Spichel, a few miles from Lisbon, the fort being

unable to offer any effectual resistance, or to avenge the insult. To remedy this deplorable state of the defences of the country, and to repair the fortifications, which had every where fallen to decay, Pombal appropriated the yearly sum of twenty-seven contos of reis*, which was found amply sufficient for the purpose. About the same time he erected a national establishment for the manufacture of gunpowder, that article having previously been supplied by individuals who enjoyed a monopoly of contract and supply. In a similar manner every branch of administration, each in its turn, occupied his attention. He corrected the abuses which had crept into the lucrative diamond contract; he regulated the proceedings of the whale fisheries; and defined and improved the laws relating to successions. In 1751 he established a sugar refinery, to which various privileges were granted, in order to encourage the home manufacture of that commodity.

* About 7000*l.*

In the following year he turned his attention to the production of silk; and to the growers of mulberry trees, for the rearing of silkworms, he conceded many privileges — such, for example, as exemption from excise, tithes, and other imposts; and to those who produced considerable quantities, the privilege was granted of holding certain public employments, which otherwise required *nobreza* in the persons on whom they were conferred, while raw silk was prohibited from being exported from the kingdom.

After having read these facts, a very little reflection will enable us to perceive how clearly Pombal understood the natural resources and products of his country; and that in encouraging its industry, and employing its capital, he was guided by a thorough knowledge of the climate, capabilities, and position of Portugal, relative to the rest of Europe: and thus he proceeded in his march of improvement, striking at the root of some evils, and palliating others, or, leaving the beaten track, discovering some new source of industry to add to the riches and happiness of the people.

His attention was next turned to the condition of the south of Portugal, where robberies and outrages of every description were frequent and terrible. To prevent these he established a special commission for the trial of all offenders; and to render this more effectual, and to counteract the means by which evil-doers, after falling into the hands of the authorities, frequently escaped the ends of justice, magistrates were empowered to extend their jurisdiction, and to commit to prison the persons of those who were suspected of being directly or indirectly concerned in the perpetration of illegal acts. From these and other regulations, the police soon became more effectual, and crimes less frequent, during the reign of Dom Joseph, than at any period before or after; while the streets of Lisbon, hitherto a reproach to the nation, were rendered safer than those of any other European capital.*

* As a proof of this, we find in a speech from the throne, dated during this period, November 15th, 1753, the following statement, of the condition of London and its vicinity, de-

The streets of Lisbon had often been witness to the midnight brawls of the nobles; and private insults were often expiated by the lives of the offenders. Reputations were attacked, to which the law afforded but a slow and insufficient redress. Pasquinades of the most malignant nature were affixed on the doors of private families — horns on those of others; and the authors of these acts laughed at the mischief they occasioned. A decree dated October 2nd,

livered from the mouth of the British Sovereign. "I am sorry to be obliged again to mention to you a subject, which reflects dishonour upon the nation, as well as creates great danger and mischief to my good subjects. It is with the utmost regret I observe that the horrid crimes of robbery and murder are, of late, rather increased than diminished."

Accounts were not more satisfactory of the state of the Austrian capital at this period. In a despatch from the Portuguese minister resident at Vienna, dated June 4th, 1763, he informs his government: "Nothing is talked of in Vienna but of the robberies and assassinations committed in this capital, and on the highways leading to it." And again, in a despatch dated March 2nd, 1766: "Incendiarism has been repeated in the suburbs of Vienna, as well as robberies in the city and public roads." To the state of the Italian cities, at this period, it is needless to allude

1753, declared that *in consequence of the prevalent custom of taking private revenge*, all persons guilty of publishing infamous satires and libels would be punished. Pombal's enemies misrepresented this decree in their partial accounts — they left out the words which are in Italics.

Fiscal arrangements next called for interposition and reform. The taxes and imposts had been hitherto collected at a vast expense to the country. Multitudinous collectors and receivers seized and appropriated the revenue, and while they impoverished the people, they plundered the treasury. At one stroke of the pen these devourers were annihilated. In the excise department Pombal appointed a treasurer with a yearly salary of 700,000 reis.* His clerk was allowed 200,000 annually, and 80 reis for each quittance. In the other departments of the taxes, the municipal chamber in each chief district (comarca) was compelled to elect yearly, a receiver, who was empowered to control and

* 4120 reis at par are equal to 20 shillings.

watch over the inferior collectors in the various divisions of his district. These receivers were twenty-eight in number for the entire kingdom, and their various salaries, on the whole, amounted to little more than a conto*; the highest of them being 70,000 reis, and the lowest 20,000 reis. It was also directed and rendered imperative, that the corporations of each especial district which elected a receiver should stand security for the honest performance of his duties.

Thus an important commencement was made towards the establishment of a beneficial and economical system of finance, by which the revenue was increased, and the government invigorated, whilst the burden fell lighter on the people, and means were procured, not only to meet the necessary expenses of the state, but to free the nation from the vast debt which the misgovernment and impotency of Dom John's ministers had bequeathed to it.

Pombal also directed his attention even to the

* A conto is 1,000,000 reis.

details of the royal establishment in its minutest branches. In a private despatch from M. St. Priest, French minister in Lisbon during the reign of Dom Joseph, he narrates that Pombal had recently put a stop to the disorder and extravagance in the king's household. Great, indeed, were the abuses to be corrected—especially in the kitchen department. The persons therein employed were actually reduced from eighty to twenty, and the expenses of the various tables were thoroughly investigated and newly regulated ; so that the household expenses were reduced more than one half.

Having to a certain extent reformed most of the abuses of the mother country, Pombal turned his eyes to the miserable condition of the colonies. One very glaring abuse was that of sending young females of good family and fortune from Brazil to Portugal, under pretence of educating them, but where they were too frequently immured for the remainder of their lives in convents, to the great injury of the state, and the decrease of population. This practice a

decree expressly forbad. Some excellent regulations were also framed to encourage the productive exports, and to increase the commerce of Mozambique, which, had they been followed out up to the present time, would have rendered that colony an invaluable appanage to the crown of Portugal. I was informed by a late governor of that colony, that it is susceptible of great improvements, and of being made a source of vast wealth to the Portuguese nation. Unfortunately, however, this enterprising governor was recalled in the midst of his speculations and improvements: a change of ministry happened at Lisbon, and the appointment was wanted for one of the new minister's friends!

During the long and inglorious reign of Dom John, commercial speculation had not only languished, but had become almost extinct; nor, as Pombal perceived, was it an easy task to resuscitate dormant enterprise, or to excite healthy speculation in the bosom of the mercantile community, which had so long laboured under an oppressive lethargy. To recal activity, and to

direct the capital of the country into productive channels, he therefore conceived the idea of organizing large commercial companies —a mode of opening new branches of trade, or of prosecuting enterprises requiring prodigious capital, that was not only successfully adopted at this time, but has been imitated at subsequent periods. For we see, that all great and eminently prosperous undertakings, whether in Portugal, France, England, or other European states, have been commenced and carried on successfully by companies.

Previous to the year 1754, the trade to China and India was open to all Portuguese subjects ; but, owing to causes to which we have already alluded, and from the want of sufficient capital and the absence of enterprise, the China trade had dwindled into insignificance, and was neither profitable to individuals, nor advantageous to the nation.* Consequently, Pombal, with a view

* During the early part of Pombal's administration, he sent an ambassador to Tartary and China. A manuscript account of this embassy is in the private library of the house

to its revival, succeeded in forming an association of merchants, which was well-known at the time by the name of the Oldembourg Company. This measure of monopoly, as it was termed, did not however fail to procure its author much censure and many enemies. Doubtless there is a term at which the monopolies which companies enjoy become a burden on, and a partial injustice to, the nation at large; and probably at this moment they ought to give up their privileges, and cease to exist, and the trade should be thrown open to the competition of the whole nation.

By a wise and humane decree, dated June 8th, 1755, the Indians in the provinces of Maranhaõ and Grand Pará in America were declared free. Policy, and their debased state, required and demanded that the African slaves should remain as they were until further consideration. Every possible means were devised to encourage and

of Ponte, entitled, Relaçaô da Embaixada á Tartaria, e á China mandada pelo Senhor Rei. D. José I. sendo Embaixador Alexander Metello de Souza e Menezes.

civilize the Indians. Certain privileges were granted to Portuguese who should marry into their families. Commerce between them and the mother country was released from exorbitant and vexatious restrictions. The time of departure of the yearly merchant fleet to and from America was altered, and so regulated as to avoid those losses which had attended the voyage. And with the view of still further ameliorating the condition of the colonies, and of bringing their inhabitants to a state of order and civilization, on the day following the date of the above decree, the king signed the charter for the incorporation of the Maranhaõ and Grand Pará company, by which fresh spirit was infused into the mercantile body, and the commerce between Portugal and her South American colonies assumed a new aspect, and excited a new interest.

During the progress of these reforms, factious opposition was neither tacit nor quiescent. Every new measure of the minister elicited the anger and jealousy of the aristocracy. The nobles, finding many of their usurped and illegal

privileges in danger of subversion, conceived the most intense hatred against the author of the actual and projected reforms. The Jesuits, foreseeing they would in their turn be attacked, sought the means of defence in secret conspiracy and crafty plots; while many of inferior rank, blind to the wisdom which dictated, and not appreciating the patriotism which executed these grand reforms, united themselves to the nobles and the priests, and increased the outcry and opposition. But the frankness of Pombal, conjoined to his indomitable perseverance, captivated and enslaved the king, who, during the very torrent of that virulent invective and the prevalence of that incredible contumely which was lavishly showered upon the minister, remained firm in his support, and constant in his confidence towards him.

Thus had Pombal already begun to experience the same ill-fortune, the same ingratitude, and the same jealousy and misrepresentation, to which the great Sully had been subjected under similar circumstances, when exerting himself for the

glory of his country, and the honour and safety of his sovereign. But no obstacle or opposition, no malignant satire or opprobrious scandal dismayed, discouraged, or even swerved Pombal from that lofty sentiment of patriotism, and that high sense of superiority, which regard nothing as impossible that is virtuous and wise, if supported by conduct and judgment in the execution. He possessed nothing of that cautious timidity which hesitates between the conception and the performance of a great political measure. He meditated deeply before he originated a reform; but, once determined, it never was relinquished—his rare sagacity and profound wisdom enabling him to see all the difficulties and facilities at a glance. Untainted with selfishness, and devoid of all ambition but that which urged him to excel all other men in patriotism, we may with justice apply to him that pithy observation which a French critic applied to the Roman orator: Il eut cette gloire, que tous les ennemis de l'état furent les siens.

CHAPTER IV.

Extracts from Pombal's Writings — General Remarks on the Condition of Portugal — Destructive Earthquake at Lisbon, Nov. 1st, 1755 — Universal Misery — Immense Loss of Life and Property — The Royal Family preserved — Pombal's Magnanimity — His memorable Apophthegm — Measures to alleviate the Distress — Martial Law proclaimed — Order re-established — Algerine Corsairs — Intrigues of the Jesuits — Lisbon rebuilt by Pombal — Appendix — Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office.

CHAPTER IV.

To show that Pombal was not insensible to the difficulties that perplexed, or unacquainted with the obstacles which opposed the progress of reform, I shall extract the following reflections from his own writings.

"We are no longer in those ages of reform, when legislators by the sole force of their genius, were able to change the form and constitution of corrupt states. When each nation was, as it were, a world apart, and regarded only its own interests by its own peculiar system, great facilities existed for reform. But since the creation of the European league, that is, since the political interests of one country have become dependent on and influence those of another, all governments have their eyes open to every change that

is meditated by their neighbours: and as the vices of the weak are the chief ingredients that form and sustain the strong, the latter are unwilling to allow the former to quit that mediocrity of condition on which their own strength depends."

"The means of reform in the power of a minister to employ are of but little efficacy in a shattered government. The most that a great statesman can do in this case is, not to seek to annihilate the vices of an existing system, but to use palliatives in order to prevent their progress, and to endeavour to support the political machine, that it may not fall into entire disorder."

"It is no longer the policy of European countries to attack openly those they wish to weaken or destroy. In general the mischief springs from a remote cause, and when, as in inveterate diseases, remedies are applied, it is too late. The ruin of a country, in modern times, is always prepared from a distant period, and approximates its termination by degrees. The means of destruction are insensibly provided, and the nation is annihi-

lated by artifice. Such was the policy of the Roman government, which worked the ruin of others, at the same time that it made them appear with the greatest splendour. The mischief was only discovered at the moment when remedies were too late. Such, in a word, was the situation of Portugal previous to the awful phenomenon that now causes so much wonder in Europe."*

"The monarchy was at its last gasp. The English had firmly bound the nation in a state of dependence. They had conquered it without the inconveniences of a conquest, and chained the people to their political car without leaving them the power of releasing themselves from bondage."

"However a certain law of nations may be established among men, the law of the strongest will always govern the world. The first king, says a great poet of our times †, was a fortunate soldier."

* The great earthquake at Lisbon, November 1st, 1755.

† Voltaire.

"The system of Great Britain was to weaken the power of other nations in order to increase her own. Portugal was powerless and without vigour, and all her movements were regulated by the desires of England."

Under circumstances so ably described, that memorable earthquake occurred, which, whilst it seemed at first to complete the ruin of Portugal, perhaps contributed in reality to rescue that country from the vassalage into which she had fallen, and to deliver her inhabitants from the misery and barbarity which debased them.

"When the fundamental principles of a government are once corrupted," continues Pombal, "new laws are almost useless, because the reform of the first abuse has always in it the germ of a second. One evil is but changed for another, and the root of the disorder remains firmly fixed in the state."

That the apparent difficulty of Pombal's position may be still further understood, I shall proceed to give an account of that tremendous catastrophe which filled all Europe with horror,

and clothed the affrighted people of this devoted country in mourning.

Never did the sun, in the balmiest of southern climes, rise with more brilliancy than on the memorable 1st of November 1755. All nature seemed to rest in perfect confidence in the calm beauty of the serene and deep blue sky, and to repose in the stillness of the silent air. The proud palaces and lofty churches of Lisbon were faithfully reflected in the broad bosom of the Tagus, whose crystal tide was unruffled by a single breath. Pleasure, peace, and security seemed to have fixed their residence on its banks, and to gambol upon its waters. Alas! in a few hours this smiling scene was to be exchanged for horror, misery, and desolation; and, as if the fiends of darkness, suddenly released from bondage, had plunged themselves precipitately upon the devoted city, bringing in their train Earthquake, Rapine, Murder, Sacrilege, and Violence, all things were reversed, Nature ceasing to be beneficent, and Man to be human!

It was the morning of All Saints' Day, and

the devout population of Lisbon were hurrying to attend divine worship in the numerous churches which on that day, according to custom, were brilliantly illuminated in honour of the festival, when at four minutes after nine the first convulsive shocks were perceived; and soon after, this proud city became a heap of undistinguishable ruins. The astonished people, who were not buried in the first fall, terrified and confounded, rushed forth tumultuously to avoid the threatened immolation; and with confused shouts and half-expressed prayers, implored favour from the Most High, while falling edifices or yawning chasms, on every side crushed or ingulfed them with a fearful and relentless certainty. Some fled to the water, in the hope of safety: but their hope was vain; for the river, violently agitated by the mighty shocks of the earth, rose to an extraordinary height: its impetuosity increased with its bulk, until it became swollen to a torrent, and, bursting its banks, swept away all within its reach. Vast ships sunk beneath the troubled surface of its angry

waves; whilst others, torn from their anchors, and hurled round with furious precipitation, disappeared in the vortex, or, driven furiously against each other, were dashed to pieces by the violence of the shocks.

To increase the horrors of this sad scene, whilst the temples of the living God, and the palace of the noble, and the dwelling of the artisan, were mingling in one common ruin, fires appeared in various places at one and the same moment, raging with unchecked fury, and threatening to consume all that the earthquake had spared. If, even at this distance of time, the excess of the general misery is too painful to dwell long upon, how terrible must have been the scenes of individual suffering! What wretchedness awaited the survivors! Husbands anxious for the fate of their wives—wives for their husbands—mothers seeking for their children, and children sinking in despair at the absence of their mothers;—every tie dear to the heart was broken, and every affection which enables man cheerfully to submit to the evils of

life was loosened, cast off, and buried in one wide grave.

In the midst of this misery and confusion, the prisons gave up their flagitious inmates; and these bad men, exulting in the misfortune which had enfranchised them from their chains, abandoned themselves to the gratification of appetite, and to the perpetration of the most atrocious crimes. Infuriated with wine, and emulous of gold, they roamed about, pillaging, violating, or murdering, as it quieted their fury, or satiated their lust;—thus aggravating by the cruelty of of man the awful visitation of God.

Lisbon, however, was not the only city that suffered by the earthquake. Other parts of Portugal (and indeed of Europe), especially Setubal and the Algarves, were seriously injured on that eventful occasion. With regard to the loss of life occasioned by this catastrophe, it was calculated that in the city of Lisbon alone, 30,000 persons perished by fire or water, or were buried under the ruins. For four days the city continued a prey to the flames, during which

period violent shocks were repeated at various intervals.

Among the buildings destroyed, were the magnificent palace of the Patriarch, built by Dom John V.; the royal palace; and churches and convents without number; while of private palaces and common dwelling-houses overthrown, some idea may be formed from the fact that entire streets became one mass of ruins. It was estimated that seven millions sterling could scarcely repay the damage done by this dreadful visitation, though some of the treasure of the Patriarchate was recovered, among which was a silver cross valued at 30,000*l.*, while no less than 1500 arrobas * of silver were dug out of the ruins of that and other edifices some time after the earthquake.

When this catastrophe occurred, the royal family were fortunately at the small palace of Belem in the suburbs of Lisbon. Their consternation was great; the whole court was in tears. The king, looking round in silence upon

* An arroba is 32lbs.

his trembling attendants, addressed himself to Pombal, who (hastening to offer what assistance and consolation he could at that awful moment) had just entered the palace. "What is to be done," exclaimed Dom Joseph, "to meet this infliction of Divine Justice?" "Bury the dead, and feed the living*," was the calm and immediate reply of Pombal, whose noble figure and collected demeanour commanded the admiration of all around him, as he uttered this concise reply. From this time, it is said, Dom Joseph looked upon his minister as a mortal of superior mould.

Not an instant was lost after this in fruitless discussion or useless condolence. Pombal threw himself again into his carriage and hurried to Lisbon to share the danger and to alleviate the calamities of the earthquake. Wherever his presence was required, there was he found. For several days his only habitation was his carriage; and from thence, day and night, he issued orders

* Senhor, enterrar os mortos, e cuidar nos vivos.

and regulations. In an incredibly short space of time two hundred decrees were promulgated respecting the maintenance of order, the lodging of the people, the distribution of provisions, and the burial of the dead. Among other providential decrees, one was issued which forbade any person leaving Lisbon without an order. By this regulation, many who had seized upon this opportunity of a public calamity to possess themselves of property, and those who had sacrilegiously entered and plundered the churches, were unable to deposit their ill-gotten wealth in places of security; and, consequently, were obliged to abandon or restore it. In these numerous decrees, Pombal entered into the minutest details; and, such was the rapidity with which they were conceived and promulgated, that many were written on his knees in pencil, and, without being copied, were hastily forwarded to their various destinations. The wounded were removed, and their wounds dressed; the houseless were collected, and lodged in temporary huts; provisions were brought from all quarters, and

distributed to the poor; monopolies of all kinds were forbidden; troops were drawn from the provinces to preserve order; idlers were forced to work; the dispersed nuns were re-assembled; the ruins removed; the dead buried, and public worship restored. As great fears were entertained that the plague might be added to the other calamities of the unfortunate city, in consequence of the effluvia of so many decomposed bodies which it was impossible to bury in the usual manner, the Patriarch issued orders with the hope of preventing the evil, that the dead should be cast into the sea with heavy weights attached to them, but, with as many of the solemn and holy ceremonies of the church as could be observed on the occasion. The Jesuits, however, did not fail to reproach Pombal for this last act of prudence.

So many felons of every description had escaped from prison and wandered about the streets, that Pombal found it necessary to issue orders, that a strict account should be taken of the ways and means of every inhabitant, while

all idlers and vagabonds, or such as could not give a correct account of themselves, were employed to clear away the ruins, for which they were recompensed with both food and money. Notwithstanding, however, all these wise and salutary enactments, so daring were some of these wretches, and such was the licentiousness of the period, that in the broad glare of day they boldly entered houses in quest of plunder, frequently adding violation and murder to robbery; so that at the door of almost every family of any consideration, armed men were stationed to guard the inmates and their property.

To obviate these distressing evils, martial law was proclaimed, and every man taken *flagrante delicto*, was summarily disposed of on the spot, and left to hang there as an example and a warning to others. This energetic and well-timed decree soon restored order and quiet to the inhabitants, who again, under the shelter of Pombal's guardianship, slept in all that confidence and security which they had enjoyed previous to the earthquake.

It is impossible to say what might have been the fate of Lisbon under her manifold misfortunes, had it not been for the courage, wisdom, activity, and energy of Pombal. Like a superior being, he was present every where; encouraging the timid, comforting the desolate, awing the wicked, restraining the reckless, soothing the wounded, and pouring the balm of peace and consolation into the bosoms of the despairing and the afflicted. He was the all in all—the upholder, regenerator, and genius of the nation: for, independent of these arduous duties, on the performance of which the very existence as well as safety of Portugal depended, he was compelled to provide against the attacks of the Algerine corsairs, who hovered about the coast, and landed whenever a possibility of plunder presented itself.

It is not to be supposed that a calamity so general and so dreadful would be suffered to pass unnoticed by the Jesuits—already Pombal's declared enemies. They did not hesitate to affirm, that the awful visitation was a divine infliction for the impiety of the minister and his sup-

porters, in which was pretty clearly included the king himself.* They even went so far as to prophesy that a similar dreadful convulsion would be repeated on the same day of the following year. But this was easily dealt with; for, at the latter end of October 1756, Pombal posted a strong guard at all the city gates, and, while the credulous expected a repetition of the calamity, their presence prevented a general panic, and consequently the disorder and plunder of the city. In the mean time, as no earthquake occurred, the people laughed heartily, not only at

* Their malicious reports were soon spread over all Europe. The Portuguese minister at Vienna, in a despatch dated January 18th, 1756, begs Pombal to inform him of the effects of the earthquake, as it was reported in Vienna that the Azore Islands had disappeared—that Madeira was entirely destroyed—that Coimbra was reduced to ashes—together with many other most circumstantial falsehoods. He adds, that in a conversation with the Emperor, his Majesty asked him if the Azores had re-appeared; and declared that if one of his subjects had brought the news to England, he would have hanged him as an example to all propagators of falsities injurious to commerce and government.

their own fears, but at those who had originated them—a fatal presage for the Jesuits.

That part of the city which was situated in the valley, on part of which the Rocio Square now stands, suffered most; but it was entirely rebuilt on a plan of great regularity and strength during Pombal's administration. A public garden was for the first time laid out; sewers were constructed in the new streets, which were handsome, solid, clean, and well paved. Before the earthquake, not a single regular street existed above the length of one hundred yards. Eminences were levelled, handsome squares constructed, and Lisbon promised to become one of the most beautiful cities of Europe. But Pombal's plan for its renovation was never thoroughly carried out. All the edifices (and very numerous they are) now existing of any importance or consequence, were planned and executed by him; but the magnificent promenade which he designed to form on the shores of the lovely Tagus from Santa Apollonia to Belem, a distance of two leagues, was never even commenced. Had this

grand design been carried into effect, and planted with trees in the manner he intended, it would have attracted the curiosity and excited the admiration of the most remote posterity, as it would have surpassed every thing of the kind, either for grandeur or magnificence, in Europe or the world.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

SINCE the compilation of these Memoirs, the author has been favoured with an inspection of numerous documents preserved in Her Majesty's State Paper Office. These are principally the despatches of the various English envoys and ministers who successively filled diplomatic appointments at the Court of Lisbon. It would, perhaps, have been more convenient for the reader, had the following extracts been incorporated with the text; but, as the work was written abroad, the author had not then the opportunity of perusing these documents. But, wherever they may be placed, they will be found highly interesting, and corroborative of those facts which he has already recorded, coming as they do from such authentic sources. It may also be added, that the reader will find in these extracts many details never before published.

The following is from a despatch written by Mr. Castres, then British minister at Lisbon, and is dated November the 6th, 1755, five days after the first effects of the great earthquake. In it we find a lively and graphic description of the awful calamity.

"I have lost my good and worthy friend the Spanish

ambassador, who was crushed under his door as he attempted to make his escape into the street. This, with the anguish I have been in for these five days past, occasioned by the dismal accounts brought to us every instant of the accidents befallen to one or other of our acquaintance among the nobility, who, for the most part, are quite undone, has greatly affected me; but in particular the miserable objects among the lower sort of His Majesty's subjects, who all fly to me for bread, and lie scattered up and down in my garden with their wives and children. I have helped them all hitherto, and shall continue to do so, as long as provisions do not fail us, which I hope will not be the case, by the good orders M. de Carvalho has issued in that respect.

"The best orders have been given for preventing rapine and murder, frequent instances of which we have had within these three days, there being swarms of Spanish deserters in town, who take hold of this opportunity of doing their business. As I have large sums deposited in my house belonging to such of my countrymen as have been happy enough to save some of their cash, and that my house was surrounded all last night with ruffians, I have this morning wrote to M. de Carvalho to desire a guard, which I hope will not be refused."

A despatch from the English consul, dated on the 15th of the same month, affords the following details.

"The first shock began about a quarter before 10 o'clock in the morning, and, as far as I could judge,

lasted six or seven minutes. There was then an interval of about five minutes before the second shock, which lasted about three minutes. So that, in a quarter of an hour, this great city was laid in ruins. Soon after several fires broke out, which burnt five or six days, and which completed the total destruction of goods and effects.

"The force of the earthquake seemed to be immediately under the city, for the damage either above or below Lisbon is not so considerable. It is thought to have vented itself at the quay that runs from the Custom-house towards the king's palace, which is entirely carried away, and has totally disappeared; some boats were swallowed up at the same time. At the time of the earthquake, the waters of the river rose twenty or thirty feet, and sunk as much, and this at four different times, as I am informed."

Another despatch, dated November the 19th, narrates, that the king and all his court are encamped under canvass tents in the garden — that the unfortunate kingdom is threatened with a plague and a famine — and concludes by eulogizing the conduct of M. de Carvalho, who, by day and night, was indefatigably employed in remedying the general distress.

"The shocks and tremulations having hardly discontinued since the first day of our disaster, the court, with above three parts in four of the inhabitants, still remain encamped in the fields and gardens in and about this place. The houses, indeed, which are yet standing in this city, as well as in the country for several miles

around it, are for the most part in so shattered a condition, that there is hardly one in fifty, though supported by props, that will hold out the winter."

As was to be expected on the occasion of so tremendous a calamity, every European nation was anxious to offer its assistance to unhappy Portugal. Among the rest, George the Second, being ignorant of the fate of his representative at Lisbon, for this purpose ordered Charles Townsend to proceed immediately to that Court with offers of money and provisions. Townsend's departure was, however, rendered unnecessary by the news of Mr. Castres' safety; but the welcome succours were forthwith despatched in a man-of-war got ready for that purpose.

The following succours were placed at Dom Joseph's disposal: —

Beef, 6000 barrels . . estimated value	£10,000
Butter, 4000 firkins	3,000
Flour, 10,000 quarters	15,000
Wheat, 10,000 do.	15,000
Biscuit, 1000 bags	1,200
Rice, 1200 barrels	1,000
Pickaxes, Spades, Crows, Screws, &c. .	1,000
In Portugal gold	30,000
In pieces of Eight	20,000
Shoes	1,000
	£97,200

The continual anxiety which all endured at this

period may be easily conceived by the following despatch, dated December 13th.

"Though it is now forty days since the great earthquake, there has hardly passed one single day or night without a renewal of our alarms — the tremulations having been almost continual, intermixed with such violent shocks from time to time, particularly the night before last, as to drive, not only those who had begun to venture again into the lower parts of the houses still standing, but even such as have sheltered themselves under tents and barracks, into the open fields half naked, to the great peril of their lives at this rigorous season of the year. In the mean time M. de Carvalho, who seems to have the entire confidence of the king his master, is employed night and day in despatching the necessary orders for keeping this ruined town supplied with comestibles; obliging mechanics of all sorts, who had fled to the remotest parts of this country, to return to their several callings; and putting a stop to the many robberies unavoidable in such times of confusion, and particularly in such an open place as this is."

Slight shocks were occasionally felt even up to the 14th of January in the following year. And it may perhaps be interesting to state here the number of British subjects who perished during the earthquake. The total loss was officially reported by the British minister at twenty-eight men and fifty women.

CHAPTER V.

Fatal Effects of the Gold Mines on Portugal—Commercial Treaty with England—Importance of the English Alliance —Opinions of Pombal on Political Economy—Royal Treasury in 1754—Appendix to Chapter V.—Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office.

CHAPTER V.

I HAVE already alluded to the effect the discovery of the gold mines in Brazil produced on the well-being of the Portuguese nation. The cultivation of the soil was abandoned for distant and illusory fortunes, and the improvement of manufactures neglected for the delusive products of the mines; while the people were compelled to seek in other countries for that food which their lands had ceased to yield, and to procure from distant nations that clothing their looms had forgotten how to weave. Pombal was aware that this was the fatal error into which his predecessors in the government had fallen, and that a mania for mining was one of the great causes of the impoverished condition of the country, and the dilapidation of the finances,

and thus expresses himself upon the subject: "Her fields soon became unproductive and valueless. The number of labourers, a class in which the strength of government consists, daily diminished. Farmers gave up the cultivation of their lands; the crops became small and insufficient; and the wealthy ceased to reside on their estates."

Thus compelled to depend upon the industry of other nations for the food and manufactures which they themselves formerly produced, the Portuguese formed the well-known treaty with England; by which, in exchange for wines and fruits, they agreed to receive British manufactures at a moderate duty. This treaty, however, was the result, not the cause, of the nearly total extinction of agricultural industry and manufacturing enterprise. And here it may not be irrelevant to remark, that it has been much the fashion of late years for a certain description of persons in Portugal, where an accurate knowledge of the principles of sound political economy is not to be found, to declaim

violently against the evil consequences which they imagine have proceeded from commercial treaties between their country and England. These people forget that the prosperity and even existence of the wine-growing provinces have been entirely created by this alliance. Neither did these treaties forbid them the tillage of their corn fields, nor the throwing of their shuttles. England only took advantage of the short-sightedness of the Portuguese government; which, had she not done, other nations most assuredly would, and possibly not on such advantageous terms as a reciprocity of products. If Portugal has been compelled to receive the manufactures of England to the exclusion of almost all others, it must not be forgotten that England has received the wines of Portugal in place of those of France and the Rhine, and that this exclusion of French and Rhenish wines, till up to a very recent period, was a real injury to the English people, though a gain to the merchants of Oporto, and to its wine-growing districts.

These remarks would have been foreign to

our purpose were it not that Pombal himself seems occasionally inclined to lay the blame of his country's misfortunes too much on the policy of British ministers, who, it appeared to him, threw impediments in the way of Portuguese enterprise and commerce. Not, however, but that he was, during the whole course of his life, as we shall see hereafter, a strenuous advocate for the importance and even absolute necessity of the English alliance, which he rightly considered as the only means of sustaining the independence of the nation, and preserving its colonies. But as the English merchants at Lisbon and Oporto sought every opportunity to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the Portuguese—a commercial feature which is inseparable from all mercantile transactions—and, were also constantly asserting and claiming dormant and unjust privileges, which the minister as constantly and as obstinately resisted, we must not be surprised, that he was at times charged with committing himself to the expression of opinions, which, in some degree, militate

against that high character for political wisdom, and profound views of government, which he possessed above all others of his country and time.*

* Numerous are the "Royal Letters" from the sovereigns of England and Portugal in which various privileges are conceded to the merchants and other subjects of the two countries. That from Dom Ferdinand in the year 1367 in favour of the English, was acknowledged by Edward III. in 1371, to the advantage of Portuguese merchants trading to the British islands. An order from Richard II., as early as 1382, permitted the Portuguese ambassador, Lourenço Fogaça to transport his baggage into England free of duty. And another, signed by Henry IV. in 1405, is a curious document of the times, as it commands that "no Portuguese subjects should be imprisoned in England, nor should their ships or other property be seized, under pretext of the debts which M. de Santiago and Lourenço Fogaça had incurred whilst ambassadors in London from the Court of Lisbon."

The most important of the privileges claimed by the British subjects in Portugal was the one established by the *Alvará* of Dom John IV. in 1656, by which a *Juiz Conservador* was to be appointed by England and allowed to reside in Lisbon. The extraordinary functions of this species of magistrate may be imagined by the decree dated 1667, in which the Portuguese sovereign declared that no British subject could be imprisoned in Portugal without the order of his *Juiz Conservador.*

Many volumes could be filled with early treaties and ar-

"In 1754," he tells us, "Portugal scarcely produced any thing towards her own support. Two-thirds of her physical necessities were supplied by England. A country that depends upon another for its sustenance soon becomes its slave, and ready to be conquered without a blow. Nothing but actual possession is wanted to perfect dependence."

Such being the agricultural condition of the country, we shall proceed to give Pombal's account of the commercial distress at the same period.

"England had become mistress of the entire commerce of Portugal, and all the trade of the country was carried on by her agents. The English were at the same time the furnishers and retailers of all the necessaries of life that the country required. Having a monopoly of every thing, no business was carried on but through their hands. After the court of St.

rangements between the two countries, to their mutual advantage, did the plan of these Memoirs permit, to show the long, and we may say natural, union between them.

James's had gained the superiority over that of Lisbon, and had extended, as it were, Great Britain into this kingdom, the Portuguese were no longer any thing but idle witnesses of the extensive commerce that was carried on amongst them. Portugal was to them as a vast amphitheatre, in which the Portuguese were placed as calm spectators, but allowed to take no part in the performances.

" The English came to Lisbon to monopolize even the commerce of Brazil. The entire cargo of the vessels that were sent thither, and consequently the riches that were returned in exchange, belonged to them. Nothing was Portuguese but the name; whilst, in the midst of this apparent vast commerce, that appeared to enrich the country, the strength of Portugal was wasting away, because the English alone enjoyed the profit. These foreigners, after having acquired immense fortunes, disappeared on a sudden, carrying with them the riches of the country. In our days, commerce guides the direction of politics; from thence emanates the power of a

nation. All the advantages that one country acquires over another tend to the ruin of the one that cedes them. In this there is no medium: nations that deal with but one country either gain or lose—ruin or are ruined."

There is much truth in these remarks. But it was English energy and perseverance over Portuguese inactivity and irresolution that gave Great Britain the ascendency. With respect to the want of industry at home, Pombal thus proceeds:—

"What was said by a celebrated author of certain tribes in Africa may be applied to the Portuguese.* This inaction originated at a remote period, but nevertheless from Great Britain. Cromwell, by a treaty of commerce exceedingly advantageous to his country, had in a manner

* "Having the precious metals in abundance, which they receive immediately from the hands of nature, they live without industry and without arts. All civilized nations are in a condition to trade with them under great advantages. They teach them to estimate things of small price highly, and to offer in exchange others of the greatest value."—MONTESQUIEU, *Esprit des Lois*, lib. xxi. ch. 3.

annihilated this monarchy before it existed; inasmuch as this treaty between the two nations was made forty years before the discovery of the mines, that is, before the kingdom of Portugal made a figure in Europe. By it, it was stipulated that England should be allowed to supply Portugal with cloths: and this famous usurper, thus destroying the nerve of the political system of our monarchy, ruined the government with the first blow.

" From this time the arts were extinct in the kingdom: the former manufactures of Portugal were destroyed: industry became languid, and soon ceased to exist. The protection which the government gave to the industry of the English, by receiving their cloths, discouraged the natural activity of the Portuguese. The nation fell into a kind of cold lethargy. The Portuguese allowed laziness and idleness so entirely to master them, as to leave no room in their hearts for other passions; and their indolence increased in the same proportion as British avarice.

" Every article of clothing that this nation

required was drawn from England, to the amount of twenty millions of cruzados annually.* A nation that is clothed by another is not less dependent than that which receives the primary articles of physical necessity, since one is as essential as the other for the existence of Europeans. England firmly secured this kingdom by both these means, which seemed like two anchors which these republicans had cast into the country."

Pombal next complains of the bad policy of Dom John's reign, which was visible in the neglect of both the army and navy, and the trusting too much to allies for protection.

"Portugal, having shaken off the Spanish yoke, had thrown herself, as it were, into the arms of England. Our government had persuaded itself that it required a powerful ally, which, by the strength of its maritime forces might excite the fears and command the respect of the power from which Portugal had just freed

* About two millions sterling.

herself. All Europe knows that the project, and execution, and successful result of this revolution *, was the work of Portuguese, without the assistance of any foreign support. It is equally well known, that all the means furnished by England up to that time had proved ineffectual. How, then, can it be supposed that this monarchy could have sufficient power to prevent Portugal again falling under the dominion of Spain ?

" It is much easier to sustain the liberty of a people than to free them from bondage. England, however, took advantage of the infatuation, and promised every thing to obtain every thing. Here several reflections are obvious. When a nation recovers its political liberty, it is a proof that the government which had kept it in slavery is becoming corrupt, and no longer possesses its original power. The nation, then, that has obtained its liberty will have sufficient energy to preserve it.

* Of 1640, which placed the Bragança family on the throne.

Its first endeavour is fruitless, if it is not followed by another to secure its freedom without the succour of a powerful ally, and thus falling on the other side into a similar state of slavery to that from which it is just delivered. Alliances are but political speculations: the ally that enters with the greatest power expects the greatest profit.

"After the revolution Portugal became almost as dependent on England as she had been on Spain. The British monarchy seemed from this time to extend a helping hand to Portugal only in order to oppress her afterwards with an infinity of arms. Before the event that destroyed Lisbon, Portugal did not possess the power of deliberative choice. Every measure of political change was pre-determined by the Cabinet of London. Her ministers at foreign courts seemed bound by long usage to a prescriptive line of policy. She no longer possessed nor armies, nor naval forces, nor fleets. What a system! a system formed from a project of pacification, the very nature of which system consisted in weak-

ness. The policy of the country had become stagnant, and the government had necessarily fallen into a state of impotence. Trust to us, said England continually; rely upon our fleets; don't make war *against* us, and we will make it *for* you.

" As a maxim of government, it is certainly true, that the worst of all policy is to remain unalterably determined on peace, when all the other powers of Europe are at war. Although a country is not personally interested in the causes of such war, it is nevertheless necessary to interpose, when the inconveniences of so doing are not greater than those of remaining a spectator. A government deceives itself, when it imagines that victories obtained at a distance of two hundred leagues from the frontiers in no way concern its political interests. It is the same in the political world as in the physical creation, where a *primum mobile* causes the movement of the whole.

" There is a motive political power which ramifies itself in every direction. This power

is either direct or indirect. In whatever part of Europe, when one state augments its power, that of another necessarily diminishes. All are therefore interested in preserving a just balance, since on that depends the general safety. The proper disposition of political power interests all the kingdoms and republics of Europe.

"In general wars, small states should more than others take a part, were it only for the purpose of siding with the weak against the strong. This policy is necessary, for without it, the more powerful governments, constantly acquiring fresh strength, would in the end swallow up the weaker ones. Pretexts were never wanting to the strong to declare war against the feeble."

The next cause of the decline of Portugal is to be found in the very source of its former prosperity. Thus Pombal continues:—

"Gold mines sixty years since were the sole sources of the riches of Portugal. Without being a politician, it is sufficient to understand arithmetic, to show clearly that a state which directs

its sole attention to mines must necessarily perish. Gold and silver are fictitious riches. These measures of value being but slowly destroyed, the more they are multiplied the less is their real value, because they represent fewer things. When the Spaniards became masters of Mexico and Peru, they abandoned the natural riches of those countries to obtain conventional ones, the value of which becomes depreciated in proportion to the increase. At that time gold and silver were scarce in Europe: Spain, on a sudden, becoming sovereign of so vast a quantity of these metals, conceived hopes that she never could expect to realise. When the quantity of gold and silver in Europe was doubled, the price of every thing also was doubled, and the profit of the mines became less.

"For instance — to extract gold from the mines, and to prepare it, certain labour is necessary. Let us suppose one sixty-fourth of the entire produce. By degrees, as it becomes plentiful, this produce would be in reality but half its

former value, whilst the cost of production would necessarily be doubled. In following up this calculation, we find the cause of the weakness of Spain. That of Portugal is briefly found by the same reasoning. Philip II., says Montesquieu, after the discovery of Mexico, made his well-known bankruptcy. Philip IV., adds another author, was obliged to coin false money to pay the burdens of the state.

" But, even if this physical evil was not the necessary result of these riches, one political reflection alone ought to cure monarchs for ever of the mania for the possession of these fatal treasuries. Gold, in itself, it is true, is power, because it affords the means of a nation's augmenting its forces. But, if a monarch who had discovered productive mines, wished to retain his riches for himself, in order to arrive at universal empire, all the other powers of Europe would unite in a league for his destruction, before he could effect theirs. If, on the other hand, his riches were generally distributed, his power would be no longer relatively great, and he would fall

back into the position which he hoped in vain to abandon. If examples could influence princes, and teach them to profit by experience, there is no one that would not oppose the opening of mines as a fundamental principle; for since the creation of the world, they have ever proved the causes of weakness and decay.

" It is an invariable maxim, that the riches of mines are chimerical to the states that possess them. Such states become but the distributers of their own treasure. The negroes that work in the mines of Brazil must be clothed by England, by which the value of their produce becomes relative to the price of cloth. To work the mines, it is necessary to have a large capital expended on slaves. If this sum be twenty millions, the interest, which is one million, independent of the cost of extraction, must be the first money paid from their produce. Add to this the food and clothing for more than an hundred thousand persons, blacks and whites, which the mines carry to Brazil ; which food is not to be had in the colony, but must be purchased from foreigners.

Lastly, to supply the physical wants of the country, which since the discovery of the mines had lost its arts and manufactures, all the gold became the property of other nations. What riches, Great God ! the possession of which involves the ruin of the state!"

In verification of these last profound remarks, I may mention, that though the king of Portugal possessed the most prolific of gold mines, and was reputed one of the richest sovereigns in Europe, yet such was the condition of the Royal Treasury in the year 1754, that he was compelled to borrow from a certain Company a sum of 400,000 cruzados (40,000*l.*) to meet the exigencies of his Court. This fact illustrates the remark, "that there never was a rich king and an impoverished people."

Having thus attempted to convey to the reader the condition of the Portuguese nation previous to that great natural convulsion described in the last chapter, I shall revert in the next to the subject of these Memoirs himself.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

So manifold and arduous were the cares and duties of Pombal at this period, that he felt himself obliged to look round for an able assistant in the administration of state affairs. He sent for Dom Luis da Cunha, who arrived in the month of May 1756, and was immediately appointed Secretary of State for the Departments of War and Foreign Affairs. Diogo de Mendonça retained the Marine Department, which he had enjoyed since the period of Joseph's accession. A despatch from M. Castres, dated May 10th, 1756, informs us of these circumstances.

"M. de Carvalho remains with the department of the interior affairs of the kingdom, which, at this particular juncture, require all his attention — his whole time being taken up, since our late misfortunes, in contriving, with the Pope's nuncio, a proper scheme for reducing the vast number of monasteries in this place; and consulting with the architects about the fittest plan for rebuilding the city. His health having been impaired of late, on account of his extraordinary application, it is not at all doubted but that the sending for Dom Luis d'Acunha was a measure entirely of his own,

to alleviate part of his trouble; and as he is thought to possess a greater share than ever in his royal master's esteem and confidence, people begin to look upon him as Prime Minister in effect, tho' he may probably decline to be addressed under that name."

A circumstance happened about this time, which is thus narrated by M. Castres.

"Le Sieur Guillaume Pawson, negociant Anglais, établi depuis trente ans au Porto, s'y maria l'année 1729, avec une démoiselle Irlandaise Catholique Romaine, nommée Marie Aylward, dont il a eu plusieurs enfans. Par un des articles du mariage, il était porté que toutes les filles seraient élevées dans la religion de leur mère, ce qui a été ponctuellement observé. L'ainé de leurs deux garçons nommé George fut envoyé à l'âge de cinq ans en Angleterre, pour y être élevé dans la religion Protestante, que son père a constamment professée: mais comme il avait été baptisé dans une Eglise Romaine, les amis de son père crurent qu'il était de la prudence de faire quelques démarches auprès de l'Inquisition pour savoir des directeurs de ce Tribunal, si le jeune Pawson pourrait revenir dans ce pays-ci en sûreté; et ayant eu des assurances de leur part qu'il n'avait rien à craindre, il est revenu depuis huit mois au Porto, pour y être associé de son père, et prendre soin des affaires, lorsque celui-ci aura pris la resolution de se retirer dans sa patrie.

"Le 17 de ce mois de Mai, ce jeune homme revenant d'une maison de campagne, fut arrêté à huit heures du matin au milieu de la rue, et enlevé par force

de dessus son cheval, par les officiers de l'Evêque d'Oporto, et conduit dans les prisons de l'Officialité, où il est étroitement gardé, son père n'ayant pas eu la permission de lui parler."

It was no easy matter to arrange this affair without alarming the whole ecclesiastical power of the country. In a conversation with the British minister on the subject, M. da Cunha candidly avowed: "There are certain formalities in all cases wherein the church is concerned, that are unavoidable; and tho' I am a hearty well-wisher to the British nation, and I do not care who knows it, yet I should be loth to give my ignorant countrymen room to tax me with being an heretic."

The young man was released, and the bishop was severely reprimanded; and shortly after, received orders to resign his bishopric, and to retire to some distant part of the country, as a punishment for the reluctance and ill grace he had shown in obeying the royal order sent him for Mr. Pawson's immediate release.

On the 31st of August, 1756, one of those bold measures was taken which so much distinguish Pombal's administration. It is thus related in the despatch of M. Castres, dated September 11th, 1756.

"On the 31st past, about one in the morning, M. da Cunha, with an officer of justice and an escort of horse, repaired to this minister's house (M. de Mendonça, Secretary of State for the Marine Department), and notified to him in the king his master's name, that he had three hours allowed him to prepare for his

banishment to any part of the country he should choose, at the distance of forty leagues from Court. M. de Mendonça, with great calmness and composure, kissed the royal decree, and having delivered the keys of his public office, as well as of his private bureaux, he soon after stepped into his voiture under the guard of four dragoons, accompanied by his confessor and a couple of servants." * * * *

" A few hours after his banishment, a royal proclamation was posted up in most of the conspicuous parts of this city, promising a reward of twenty thousand crowns to any one who should discover the person or persons who had been so audacious as to declare—*there might be such found in Portugal as would readily undertake to cut off some of those about the king, who are supposed to have the greatest share in his confidence.*"

It appears that this was a very critical moment, and that some great conspiracy was in preparation, the details of which, however, have never transpired. Several individuals of less note had been already arrested, and M. de Lacerda was ordered to return to Lisbon immediately.

M. Castres writes, July 7th, 1756: " M. de Lacerda, the present Portuguese minister at Paris, has been ordered home on a sudden, on account, as some pretend, of an illicit correspondence carrying on between him and a relation of his here, who was seized ten days ago with all his papers, from the perusal of which, such discoveries have been made, as have occasioned the seizing of several more, among whom there are three or four

friars of note. What is very certain is, that the ministers of this Court have been taken up night and day, for near a fortnight past, so as hardly to be visible to any one, which, together with the frequent captures of late, has raised great suspicions of very sinister designs having been upon the anvil."

The French ambassador was very angry at the arrest of his friend Mendonça, and as he was recalled from Lisbon shortly afterwards, we may naturally conclude that he was no stranger to Mendonça's guilt. This ambassador, we are informed by Mr. Castres, on taking his leave, received the usual gold bars, worth about 1100*l.* "The Court, he adds, seems to be well pleased with their having got rid of a minister of his turbulent temper, who had long ago rendered himself disagreeable by his perpetual disputes about trifles, and particularly, his free and unguarded expressons upon the customs and manners of the country, not sparing at times the royal authority itself."

CHAPTER VI.

Formation of the Oporto Wine Company—The great Advantages it conferred on Agriculture and Trade—Since virtually abolished by the Constitutional Government—Riots at Oporto in 1756—Secretly instigated by the Jesuits—Pombal's Account of the Establishment and Progress of the Company—Appendix—Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office.

CHAPTER VI.

While Pombal was thus reflecting on the various causes which had brought his country to its low state, and was actively engaged in devising the means to remedy the misfortunes with which the awful calamity of 1755 had visited Portugal, he did not neglect those reforms which were imperatively demanded in every department of the state. Nor did he suffer any time to be lost between the deliberation and the performance of any necessary act of government; for his plans were no sooner conceived than they were executed. In fact he seemed in his decrees even to anticipate the abuses that spring from reforms themselves, and was prepared to meet them as soon as they appeared. But amidst all the cares and the anxieties of his position, he was not insen-

sible to the fact, that the safety and influence of a government is greatly promoted and insured by furthering the interest of individuals. Hence a principal object that engrossed his attention was the formation of the celebrated Oporto Wine Company, the excellent management of which, even up to a very recent period, has obtained for it a celebrity unprecedented, and preserved a reputation for the purity and excellence of its wines unequalled, and never likely to be surpassed. The following facts will explain the origin of the formation of this Company.

The principal wine-growers of the Upper Douro, in August 1756, represented to the government, that this branch of agriculture was so reduced in the three provinces of Beira, Minho, and Traz-os-Montes, that the produce did not repay the expense of cultivation; that the profit was in the hands of the tavern-keepers at Oporto, who adulterated the wines to an incredible extent, which rendered them injurious to the health of the consumers; and that the formation of a Company was the only means of

obviating these manifold evils. The urgency of the case was so apparent, and the necessity for intervention so obvious, that Pombal without hesitation entered into the views of these wine-growers, and with his usual decision and promptitude, issued a decree on the 10th of September 1756 for the establishment of the "Companhia Geral da Agricultura das Vinhas do Alto Douro," the capital of which was fixed at about 120,000*l.* The principal object of this Company was to preserve the quality of the wines, and to benefit the growers by establishing a regular price, and by emancipating them from the intrigues of monopolists. By the decree, it was enacted that the Company had the exclusive privilege of purchasing all the wines grown within a particular district, at a fixed price for a certain period after the vintage. When that period had elapsed, the wine-growers were at liberty to sell those wines which remained unpurchased in whatever market they pleased.

This famous Company, after not only conferring many benefits on individuals, but in-

creasing the agriculture and commerce of the nation at large, was virtually abolished soon after the establishment of the constitutional government; a measure which has been applauded or condemned according as the parties were friendly or adverse to, interested or not interested in, the Company.* But, however unnecessary or unjust such an establishment may be supposed to be under present circumstances, (which I doubt,) it must be admitted by all that it tended greatly to improvements in the cultivation of the vine in the northern provinces, and that it gave rise to almost a new source of riches in the commerce of Portugal. But, like every measure of practical reform, especially fiscal, the Company had from the first very violent opponents. Among these were the petty retail wine-sellers, who felt themselves aggrieved by the bar which was thus set against their former mal-practices;

* It appears that some measures have lately received the royal sanction in Portugal for the purpose of once more affording the protection and support of government to the Company and to the decaying wine interest.

and these, as a matter of course, carried with them the lower orders of the people, who were in the habit of frequenting their taverns. These malcontents excited numerous riots at Oporto; and upon one occasion the house of the Director of the Company was broken open and plundered, while the chief magistrate, dragged from his bed, was compelled to protest against the establishment. Nor was the mob contented with this outrage; but, growing bolder, they attacked the military. The affray became very serious, and several lives were lost. At this conjuncture some one fortunately suggested to the authorities the expediency of a religious procession passing through the streets. This being assented to, the people became more subdued, and at length dispersed.

As soon as the news of this outbreak reached Pombal, he ordered fresh troops to proceed to Oporto, with strict orders to the commanders to arrest and bring to trial all who could be proved to be either directly or indirectly connected with these outrages, or who had excited or taken part

in the riots. These orders were rigorously enforced; for so extensive were the ramifications of the riots, that it was deemed advisable to institute some severe examples to prevent their recurrence. The less guilty, and those who were proved to have taken no very active part in these excesses, were punished according to the degree of their offences.*

But though the tavern-keepers were the active participators in these affairs, the exciting cause was found in the Jesuits; for they secretly roused and then fomented the passions of the people. As this order was the most implacable and violent of all Pombal's enemies, I shall, by way of illustrating many passages in his life, give in a subsequent chapter, a short history of the society, from the time of its introduction into Portugal, up to the period of which we are now speaking. In the mean while, the following account of this company, written by Pombal after his retirement from the ministry in 1777, will

* See Appendix, Note 1., at the end of this chapter.

be found extremely interesting, especially as it forms part of his vindication on those points in his ministerial career which had been most obnoxious to his enemies. For it must be premised, that one of the principal charges against him was the support which he gave the Oporto Wine company, and we shall therefore see how he meets these attacks, and what were his real motives for organising the company.

Pombal's enemies never could find any ground on which to accuse him of sacrificing principle at the shrine of interest; nor could they discover that he ever originated any reform, or enforced any measure, but what was totally devoid of all selfish consideration, and absolutely and truly for the aggrandizement, the honour, and the happiness of his country. Much has been said in these days of representative governments, that he exceeded his powers as a minister, and that many of his acts were despotic and arbitrary. Such was the expression of a champion of French liberty—Lafayette; whilst a celebrated living statesman, born in a very different poli-

tical atmosphere, recently observed respecting Pombal, that he was too much infected with the liberal ideas of his times. So various are the judgments of men on the same subject!

ACCOUNT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT AND PROGRESS OF THE OPORTO WINE COMPANY, WRITTEN BY THE MARQUIS OF POMBAL AFTER HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE MINISTRY.

" The unceasing and urgent works which the calamitous earthquake of November 1st, 1755, had rendered indispensable, were still vigorously continued, when in the following year one Mestre Frei João de Mansilha presented himself at the Quinta at Belem, on the part of the principal husbandmen of Upper Douro, and of the respectable inhabitants of Oporto, in a state of indescribable consternation.

" In the name of the above-mentioned classes, he represented to his Majesty Dom Joseph, ' that the English at Oporto had ended by entirely ruining the important vines of the Douro, and their produce: that they had reduced the price

of wine to 6400 and 7200 reis per pipe, and thereby rendered the expense of cultivation greater than the value of the produce; and even then they refused to become purchasers without one or two years' credit: that the low price did not even suffice to pay the necessary hoeing of the land, which in consequence was becoming gradually abandoned by its owners: that the abbot of Lobrigos had already forsaken his church, since there were no funds wherewith to pay him his salary: that all the principal families of that district found themselves reduced to the lowest degree of poverty, so much so indeed, that they had been obliged to sell or pawn the spoons and forks with which they eat: that the poor people, unable to afford a drop of oil, were obliged on fast days and during Lent, to season the vegetables on which they fed with the fat of hogs: that this general and extreme poverty had caused the continual prostitution of the daughters of the wine-growers and proprietors, who hoped by these means to facilitate the advantageous disposal of their wines, unmindful of

the public scandal and high offence against God that sprung from such conduct.'

" This sad description made a great impression on the pious and paternal mind of his Majesty. He immediately ordered me to ascertain the truth of the above-mentioned statements. On inquiry, they were fully verified. The most prompt and efficacious remedies that could be applied to such great evils, were copiously enlarged upon in the presence of his Majesty; and it was finally concluded, that the wisest plan would be the establishment of a powerful Company, which, by the weight and union of its capital and its credit, might disconcert the injurious collusion in which the English were leagued.

" His Majesty having approved of the plan suggested, a list of questions was prepared for the purpose of eliciting the information and facts which were indispensably necessary in order to obtain a knowledge of the means and motives for the formation of the said company. The answers to these inquiries having arrived, the draught statement which was thereupon con-

certed between the camp master general, Manoel da Maria, and myself was approved of by his Majesty; and, having been sent to Oporto for the approbation of those interested in the plan, was returned with their signatures, to which was immediately added mine and that of the Dezembargador Procurador of the crown, as it was printed with the charter, or letters patent, granted at Belem on the 10th of September in the year 1756, for the creation of the Company.

"At the same time that his Majesty and his ministers learnt, that the above establishment, and the decree which confirmed it, had emancipated the proprietors and wine-growers from the servitude in which they had hitherto been held, and that this was the well-known opinion of all interested, as well as of the prudent and talented men of the three provinces of Beira, Traz-os-Montes, and Minho, they heard with amazement, that the priests of the Jesuit college at Oporto had drawn from its concealment the account of the insurrection, which, in the year 1661, their predecessors had incited in that city against the King,

Dom Affonso VI.; and that at their religious meetings, and even at confession, they were prompting men to believe, *that the wines of the new Company were not fit for the celebration of mass.* By these means they caused, on the 23d of February 1757, the horrible insurrection in which the common people of Oporto attacked the houses of the Chancellor, and of the other persons employed in the management and direction of the Company, demanding that it should be abolished; together with other excesses which were made manifest to the whole kingdom by their trial and, the sentence of the Alçada*, which is preserved in the royal archives at the Torre do Tombo as a warning for future generations.

"From that time forward the cabinet remained fluctuating between two opposite extremes. On the one hand, experience daily showed increased progress not only in the profits of the Company, in which consists its stability, but likewise in the increased consumption of the wines, in the restoration of their value to a rea-

* A special court so called.

sonable price, in the augmentation of their cultivation, and in the independence of the farmers and proprietors. On the other hand, it was seen that no length of time sufficed to overcome the strong opposition of the English; the fraudulent tricks which even those interested in the reputation of the wines invented for their own advantage; and the malversations of the provedors, deputies, and other officers of the Company.

"The English, seeing that this most important branch of commerce was snatched from their hands, and finding themselves in the Alto Douro dependent on those very wine-growers whom they had hitherto treated as slaves, and whose possessions had been entirely in their hands, left no pretext or argument which they could invent unemployed to ruin the company, directly or indirectly; in which attempt they were seconded by the captious and exigent notes of Mr. Edward Hay, of Lord Kinnoul, and of Mr. W. H. Lyttelton, at various periods British ministers at Lisbon, and of the present envoy, Mr. Robert Walpole.*

* See Appendix, Note 2., at the end of this chapter.

"Despatches, which are to be found amongst the masses of papers from these four ministers, together with my replies, sufficiently show the innumerable and never-ending troubles which they compelled the cabinet to undergo, in order to find unanswerable arguments for the preservation of an establishment of such public utility to this kingdom.

"The husbandmen, interested in the reputation of the wines, constantly helped to injure it by their ignorance, in sacrificing their future interests for a temporary and private gain; at one time introducing, during the darkness of night, the sour wines of the lands adjacent to those which produced wines of a quality for exportation, and mixing the former, which were only fit for taverns, with the superior qualities that were grown within the lines of demarcation; now forming clandestine collusions with the English merchants at Oporto, pretending that they were buying for themselves wines which in reality were for the English; and again inventing, from the fertile sources of their malice and

imagination, many other frauds too numerous to particularize. The most strenuous efforts were indispensable to prevent these frauds and contrivances; without which efforts, the government could never have promulgated such a succession of opportune decrees, as may be found registered in the office of the Home Department, and which fill more than two large volumes.

" The provedors and deputies of the Company, having been during the first *triennial directions* selected at hazard from among the men who had hitherto displayed the greatest zeal, credit, and intelligence, discovered afterwards that they neither responded to the confidence that had been reposed in them, nor manifested that disinterestedness which is indispensably necessary in the administration of the property of others. Individuals, to fill the offices of provedor and vice-provedor, were therefore sought amongst the most highly respectable persons of Oporto, in the hope, that their authority and example might bring the administration of the Company to the observance of the greatest regularity and

probity. The disorders and complaints have nevertheless been unceasing up to the end of the last preceding meeting or Junta. For these individuals, either from want of knowledge in agricultural and commercial affairs, or on account of palpable negligence, have in no wise caused the malversations to cease, of which all former Juntas have been accused. To curb and reduce them to their exact duties, much labour and many decrees were necessary, as may be seen in the before-mentioned volumes.

"From this account, it is clearly and evidently demonstrated, that in the ministry there never was the slightest mercenary compliance, neither towards the English of Oporto, nor towards the proprietors and husbandmen of the Douro wines, nor towards the said Juntas. But, on the contrary, a constant and unceasing wish to repel the pretensions of the first, to check the frauds of the second, and to reduce the third to their duties; supporting, at the same time, the authority and preservation of an establishment which has been productive of so much public

advantage, and so many millions of cruzados, to the kingdom, as is proved by the annual account of the consumption of wines of every quality.

" And neither did the English for having been firmly opposed, nor the husbandmen of the Douro for having been imprisoned and punished, nor the provedors and deputies of the various Juntas for having been checked, and removed from their places as soon as they were found unworthy to hold them, find it necessary to make costly presents to the ministry.

" The purchases that were made of the wines of Oeyras*, can never be interpreted as a gift. On the contrary, the proofs are evident, both that the Junta procured the greatest advantages for the Company by their purchase, and that the proprietor of those wines always preferred the public interests of the Company to his own individual advantage.

" The English and Portuguese merchants at Oporto, who (like all others of their profession)

* A property that Pombal inherited.

are always on the alert for a profitable speculation, discovered by the custom-house entries of that city, that before the employment of the elderberry (with which the wines are adulterated for the purpose of colouring them) it was usual to carry to Oporto the wines of Oeyras at the price of 58,000 reis per pipe, in order to give to those of the Douro the dark and lasting colour which they do not naturally possess.*

"In consequence of this discovery, the wines of Oeyras were eagerly sought after both by the Junta of the Company and by the English merchants at Oporto. I made inquiries on the subject, and found that in fact the wine of Oeyras

* A decree, dated August 30th, 1757, ordered, "that no elderberry juice should be mixed with the wines; that no dung should be laid upon the vineyards in the Oporto wine districts, by which means wine was procured in large quantities, to the ruin of the quality; and that the prices at which the Company bought the wines should be raised."

A Portuguese writer of those days accused the English of wishing to make port wine a potable fire in spirit — a kindled gunpowder in burning — a very ink in colour — a Brazil in sweetness — and an India in perfume.

was so full-bodied, and possessed such strength, that one pipe of it was sufficient to colour and preserve ten pipes of the Douro wine, and that the Company, by the purchase of these wines, would enjoy an eminent advantage over the English, who could not obtain them.

" On this information, I immediately ordered my bailiff at Oeyras to send for men who were practised in wine-making, in order to prepare mine in the same manner as the English do theirs; and, that he should afterwards sell it to the Company, without exceeding the price of 36,000 reis, as rated by the fourth article of the law of August 30th, 1757.

" The said bailiff, represented in the following year, that the wine prepared in this manner caused an excessive expense in the making, with a great diminution in its quantity; and that the said law of 1757 was only applicable to the wines of the Douro, and in no manner regarded those of Oeyras, which were so superior in quality. The Junta sent to offer me 50,000 reis per pipe, stating that such was the former price of the

generous and full-bodied wines of Oeyras. The English sent to tempt me with the offer of fifteen and eighteen moidores per pipe.* To which I replied, that if I were living in a private condition I should dispose of my wines to the best purchaser; but that as it was, I considered the Company as the offspring of my ministry, and consequently I desired its wines to be superior to those of the English; and, that although the above-mentioned law did not regard the wines of Oeyras, yet mine should never exceed the price of 36,000 reis, which was established for those of the Douro. In this resolution I always unalterably remained for the benefit of the Company."

* The moidore is 4800 reis.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

Note 1. page 140. The riots on this occasion were of a more serious nature than has been generally represented. This we learn from a despatch of the British minister, Mr. Hay, dated October 19th, 1757. He writes, that "the persons concerned in the riots last summer at Oporto have received their sentence. Thirteen men and four women were executed the 4th inst. Five and twenty persons are condemned to the galleys, some for life, and others for a term of years. Eighty-six banished to different parts, and fifty-eight condemned in a fine and six months' imprisonment. Thirty-six persons were released."

It may not be amiss to remark, that, notwithstanding these severe punishments, the English minister mentions them without comment — a clear proof that they were merited. And I may here add, by way of information to those who may have found Pombal described as a harsh minister, that during the whole course of his long administration, a period of twenty-seven years, no censure, or even allusion to unnecessary severity, was ever made by any English minister in his despatches. And what is still more convincing, is

the fact, that even when the causes of punishment were involved in mystery and concealed with care, the justice of that punishment was never for a moment doubted or impugned, in any one of the private and confidential letters of an eye-witness and an ambassador.

Note 2. page 147. The establishment of the Oporto Wine Company formed for many years the subject of reiterated petitions, complaints, and remonstrances from the English merchants resident at Oporto. To all of these Pombal continually turned a deaf ear. In one of the numerous contestations on the subject between Lord Kinnoul and Pombal, the latter thus defended his proceedings: "That a general freedom of trade, granted by treaty, could never be so strictly construed as to restrain either sovereign from forming such internal regulations as he should think proper, for the advantage or support of his government, or for conducting the commerce of his own subjects, though they might indirectly affect the subjects of the other." And further, "that by a reciprocal moderation in avoiding particular discussions, and attending to the general interest of both nations, more than to the interest or to the opinion of individuals, good harmony had hitherto been preserved, and the commerce carried on with that success, and to that extent which was visible to every one." And, "that the wisest system which the King of Portugal can pursue, is to make the commerce of his dominions an object of that value to some one foreign nation, as thereby to cultivate and establish, upon the solid foundation of interest, the friendship of a power

able to support and defend them." Pombal continued to express his opinion, "that Great Britain is by long alliance and ancient engagements, by her political system, by her situation, and by her maritime force, the nation of all others to which Portugal should give the preference;" and concluded by declaring, "that the general interest of the two countries was to be considered in preference to that of a few individuals." Despatch, dated October 11th, 1760.

In reply to similar remonstrances made by Mr. Hay, according to a despatch from the latter, dated November 5th, 1763, Pombal never lost sight of the true interests of his country. Mr. Hay writes: "The Count d'Oeyras proceeded with some warmth to allege 'that the king his master had an undeniable right to make what interior regulations he thought proper within his own dominions, and with which it did not become foreign merchants to interfere. That six and twenty of the subjects of Portugal had been punished with death for their opposition to the Company, which had been established to prevent the utter ruin of the northern provinces, and recover the purity of the wines, which had been corrupted, and the wine trade brought to decay, by the English factors.' 'And,' continued Pombal, 'foreigners, notwithstanding treaties, are to obey the civil laws of the country where they reside.'"

CHAPTER VII.

Establishment of the Jesuits in Portugal — Simon Rodriguez — His Rise — Jesuits procure the Management of the University — Their Projects and Practices — Contrast between the Popes, Pius V. and Gregory XIII. — Gaspard de Saulx — Jesuits carry on an extensive Commerce in South America — Exchange of Territory between Portugal and Spain — Opposition of the Jesuits — Disasters of the Allies — Pombal's decisive Measures — Dismissal of the King's Confessor — Complaints to his Holiness against the Jesuits — Cardinal Saldanha appointed to reform the Society — Former Prohibitions against the Jesuits — They are suspended from confessing and preaching — Appendix — Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office.

CHAPTER VII.

The Jesuits, whose ambitious intrigues and love of rule, for so long a period, contributed to foster that spirit of superstition which kept so many countries in ignorance and slavery, established themselves in Portugal in the year 1540, during the reign of John the Third.

This Order had then recently been founded in Spain by Ignatius Loyala, a soldier; and it was shortly afterwards established in Portugal by an arch-hypocrite, one Simon Rodriguez, who, notwithstanding the lowness of his origin, his father being a cobbler, aimed at the most impossible ends, and conceived the most ambitious projects. This man, together with Francis Xavier, received permission to visit the East as missionaries. Xavier proceeded to his destination, and for his

labour and zeal in converting the natives to the Catholic faith, he was subsequently canonized by the See of Rome. But Simon had no intention, from the first, to proceed to the East. He saw that it was more likely to turn to his advantage if he remained in his own country; and with this view so ingratiated himself with the court, that he was chosen preceptor to the young prince in 1543, and shortly afterwards succeeded in appointing a Jesuit, confessor to the Queen. This was but a link in that vast political chain which the Jesuits were then forging for Europe; for, by means of confessors, the order shortly came to know the secrets of nearly all the princes of Europe, and thus were enabled to govern both the opinions and the actions of their royal penitents. They aspired not only to intellectual but to political empire, and the rapid progress they made towards their acquisition is to be looked for in the studied policy of their mode of living, and the opportunities which their office as confessors gave them of working upon the weaknesses and exciting the fears of their peni-

tents. Thus placed, Simon pursued his schemes of personal aggrandizement without scruple and without delay; and in a short time was rewarded for his assiduity and labour by procuring for his order the management of the University of Coimbra. From that unfortunate period, the literature of Portugal gradually declined, and that noble language which recorded the discoveries of her great navigators, the actions of her ancient heroes, and the wisdom of her illustrious statesmen, was now confined to rescripts of evangelical biography, the promulgation of fallacious prophecies, and the narration of wonder-working relics; or it was made to tell of miracles by Jesuits, of the fictitious sufferings of imaginary martyrs, or of the dread punishment of detested heretics.

Time served but to increase their influence and authority; and such was their presumption, it is alleged, that they sought to establish under their general an independent kingdom in Portugal, similar to that once renowned fraternity, the Knights of Malta. But if this was really their

intention, the annexation of Portugal to Spain in the year 1580 frustrated their hopes, and they prudently affected to be contented with the government of Philip the Second.

It would not be consonant with the plan of these Memoirs, nor in accordance perhaps with the feelings of many of my readers, to trace the Jesuits step by step, and thus climb up with them to that bad eminence which they had at one time attained over the Christian world. The contemplation even of successful wickedness is at all times displeasing to the virtuous and the pious; neither should we find in the plots, intrigues, crimes, and cruelties of this sect, any deed to admire, or any act to applaud. Their monstrous doctrine respecting the dethronement of kings and the murder of princes—which in vain is denied—the conspicuous part which they took in the atrocious assassination of Henry the Fourth of France, and the various and almost innumerable secret tortures, aggravated punishments, and cruel poisonings in which they were implicated, are well known, and therefore need not

recapitulation. Romance itself falls short of what it is asserted was perpetrated by them during their baneful dominancy; and many of these horrors would be incredible, did we not know that it was the same spirit of religious fanaticism that actuated *them*, which gloried in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and sanctified itself in the Vespers of Sicily.

It was said that Pius V. wept at the recital of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. But his successor Gregory XIII. publicly returned thanks to God, and sent a legate to Paris to congratulate Charles IX. on the event, and exhort him to continue in the good work. A French writer relates a circumstance of Gaspard de Saulx, a marshal of France, which well illustrates the state of bigoted enthusiasm which pervaded all classes in those days. "Son fils, qui a écrit des mémoires, rapporte que son père étant au lit de la mort, fit une confession générale de sa vie; et que le confesseur lui ayant dit d'un air étonné, 'Quoi! vous ne parlez point de la Saint Barthélémi?' 'Je le regarde,' répondit le maréchal,

' comme une action méritoire qui doit effacer mes autres péchés.' " *

The papal Bull, which granted liberty to the Order to establish itself in Portugal in the year 1540, limited their number to sixty. But in 1543 another Bull was obtained, permitting them to extend it without limit: the consequence of which was, that at the commencement of the 18th century there were thousands of them of all grades and principles dispersed every where throughout the Portuguese dominions, impelled with the same ambitious spirit that characterised their general, and little scrupulous of the means of obtaining their ends.

Surrounding the young king, John V., at his succession, they obstructed every avenue to the throne; and in order to divert his mind from

* Translation. — His son, author of some Memoirs, relates that his father, being on his deathbed, made a general confession of his past life; and that the confessor, having said to him with astonishment, "What! make you no mention of the St. Bartholomew?" "I regard it," answered the Marshal, "as a meritorious action which ought to efface my other sins."

the cares of government, fomented his piety, and encouraged him in his passion for erecting religious establishments, and building expensive palaces.

In the mean while, they were not inactive in other parts of the Portuguese dominions. Under pretence of converting the Indians in South America, missions were sent to Paraguay, where their principal employment was, carrying on an extensive and lucrative trade. Nor did they content themselves with these advantages, but actually aimed at the establishment of an independent government, as they had previously wished in Portugal, under the direction of their general, as the chief of the Order was denominated. But negotiations being opened between Spain and Portugal relative to an exchange of territory in these parts, their designs were frustrated, and the resistance which their disappointment and chagrin incited them to offer, only served to hasten their ruin.

The facts connected with this affair are as follow: — A short time previous to the death of

John V., the courts of Spain and Portugal had agreed upon an exchange of territory, the preliminaries of which were, that the former should retain the long-disputed province of Nova Colonia, and the latter should hold the seven Paraguay missions. To bring the matter to a close, instructions were sent from Europe in the year 1751 to the commissoners of the two crowns, to effect the exchange as quickly as possible. But when the commissioners endeavoured to carry them into effect, a violent opposition was raised, especially in the seven missions, which obliged Andrade, the governor of Rio Janeiro, to write to Lisbon, informing the minister, not only of his inability to carry out the measure, but complaining of the Jesuits as the causes of the opposition. And that they possessed one of the chief elements of successful opposition, it is only necessary to state that they had, to a certain extent, on the banks of the Uraguay and Paraguay, formed an independent republic, consisting of thirty-one towns, containing a population of no less than one hundred

thousand souls. In this infant state, they attempted to prohibit all communication between the natives and the Spaniards or Portuguese. Among other means they forbade them to learn the languages of either country, while they themselves assiduously studied, and earnestly applied themselves to the acquisition of the language of the natives, composing dictionaries and grammars for that purpose.

It is not to be supposed that persons so well versed in imposture, so conversant in intrigue, and such adepts in policy, should have struggled in vain to carry out their plans; and consequently they succeeded in implanting in the minds of the Indians an implacable hatred of the Spaniards and Portuguese, representing to them that they were the natural enemies both of God and man, and that their blood would be an acceptable sacrifice, as they were coming with no other intention but to destroy them and their priests, to annihilate their religion, and reduce them to the most miserable condition of vassalage. The arts to which they had recourse to compass their

ends were at once ludicrous and horrible. For example, they were enjoined to decapitate the Spaniards and Portuguese who should fall in battle, lest, by the influence which they possessed with the devil, they should be re-animated and return to life. But these were but subsidiary means to prevent the desired interchange of territory. They neglected no worldly means of waging offensive and defensive war; and such was the vigour of their proceedings, that in a very short time they found themselves in a condition to defy the combined efforts of the united crowns. This was soon evinced in the unsuccessful attempt which was made to coerce them by the Marquis of Valdelirios the Spanish general, and Andrade the governor of Rio Janeiro. The former entered Paraguay with three thousand men on the one side, while the latter advanced with one thousand on the other. But such was the want of judgment, or, as it has been alleged, the deficiency in horses, provisions, and ammunition, conjoined with a mortality which attacked the troops, that the allies were never

able to unite their forces, while the opposition offered by the Indians was obstinate and effectual, so that at length they were obliged to conclude a treaty until additional instructions should arrive from Europe. This was in 1754, during which year, Pombal sent one of his brothers to America, to co-operate with the bishop of Paraguay in putting an end to the dominion of the Jesuits.

After a while hostilities were again renewed, but with little success. The Jesuits defended themselves with ability and caution against the combined forces of the Spaniards and the Portuguese during 1754 and 1755; but in 1756, Andrade obtained some advantages over them, and took possession of their establishments on the eastern side of the river Uraguay. That this war was unfortunate and injurious may be imagined from the fact, that it had already cost Portugal nearly three millions sterling.

It is plain that this state of things little comported with the intellectual vigour and physical temperament of Pombal; and, exasperated by

continued resistance, and the non-enforcement of the decree which declared that in temporal affairs the Indians should depend on the secular governors and not on the missionaries, this energetic minister resolved on more decisive and more efficient measures. But this was no easy task. The Jesuits still enjoyed great power and influence at Lisbon. Moreira was the king's confessor, and to others of his Order was confided the education of the royal family. Yet Pombal was not dismayed. Joseph was a clear-sighted man. He was well acquainted with the character and intrigues of the Jesuits both at home and abroad, and he felt that he must either support his minister or fall beneath the power of his enemies. A bold stroke was therefore decided upon, which was no less than the dismissal of the king's confessor, accompanied with an order that no Jesuit should approach the court without the express permission of the king. This took place on the 19th of September, 1757. The blow once struck against his intriguing and formidable enemies, Pombal lost no

time in following it up with unabated vigour and irresistible force; and within three weeks after, namely on the 8th of October 1757, he forwarded instructions to Dom Francisco d'Almada, Portuguese minster at the court of Rome, to demand a private and secret interview from his Holiness the Pope, in order to lay before him an account of the intrigues, misdemeanours, and crimes of the Jesuits. "This account," we are told in the instructions, "does not contain the particulars of scandals yet greater and more horrible, which could not be related without extreme indecency, and without wounding the modesty of those who might have to write or hear them." Furthermore the minister is desired to remind his Holiness that the Jesuits "have sacrificed all christian, religious, natural, and political obligations to a blind wish, insolent and unbounded, to make themselves masters of government, political and temporal; an insatiable desire to acquire and heap up foreign riches, and even to usurp the dominion of sovereigns." And again, "that the king, being desirous of averting the ruin

by a prompt remedy, had ordered all the Jesuit confessors of the princes and princesses to withdraw to their own convents. The king, moreover, implores his Holiness to employ in this important matter the most efficacious and proper means to put a total stop to the abuses, excesses, and crimes among the Jesuits, hoping at the same time that the paternal and apostolic prudence of his Holiness, will omit nothing that a conjuncture so greatly urgent requires, to prevent an Order which has rendered such services to the church from being totally lost in this kingdom and its dependencies, through the corrupted morals of its members, and the public and universal scandal they create, by abandoning themselves to disorders and abuses so strange and so repeated."

Pombal did not content himself with a single representation. On the tenth of February 1758 instructions were again forwarded to the Minister at Rome to lay before his Holiness additional particulars of the increased excesses of the Jesuits, especially those flagitious crimes which

had been committed in the transatlantic territories of his Majesty. In this document, complaints are made of the discontents fomented by the Jesuits in Paraguay and other provinces, in order to frustrate the settlement of the Boundary Treaty between Spain and Portugal. Mention is also made of the intrigues which they directed against the king and his ministers even in the Court itself, notwithstanding that his Majesty had removed them from the office of confessors to the royal family. That when the Maranhaõ and Pará Company were about to be established, they offered the most violent opposition, foreseeing that it would put an end to the very extensive commerce which they themselves monopolized with those countries. That amongst other excesses to which their fury incited them, one Father Ballaster publicly exclaimed from the pulpit, that "whoever joined that Company would have no part in the Company of our Lord Jesus Christ." To sum up the full amount of their misconduct, proofs were appended of their attempts to increase the general confusion during

the earthquake; of their opposition to the establishment of the Oporto Wine Company; and of their being the instigators of the riots which took place in that city. They had even gone so far, continues the report, as to assert that the wines which would be sold by the Company would be unfit for the celebration of the Holy Sacrament! These and other charges, which it is not necessary to particularize, the minister was directed to lay before his Holiness.

In consequence of these representations, which were too surely substantiated to admit of evasion or contradiction, Benedict XIV. appointed Cardinal Saldanha Visitor and Reformer of the Society of Jesus in the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarves, and in all parts of the East and West Indies subject to the government of his Most Faithful Majesty. This papal mandate was dated April 1st, 1758.

As the misconduct of the Society was notorious, it did not require a lengthened examination. No sooner, therefore, had the credentials arrived from Rome, than the Apostolic Vicar published

a decree dated May 15th, 1758, in which it was declared that the Portuguese Jesuits carried on an illegal trade, contrary to all laws divine and human, and that therefore they were from henceforth prohibited from continuing it under the usual pains and penalties. Nor was this the first occasion on which ecclesiastical authority had interfered to put a stop to the illicit traffic carried on by the Jesuits in America. Previous to the administration of Pombal, the attention of the Court of Rome had been called to these mal-practices. Benedict XIV. enacted by a Bull dated February, 1741, that every species of trade and commerce, and all worldly dominion, or the purchase and sale of converted Indians, should be prohibited to ALL religious orders (without naming any particular one). In December following, another Bull was specially directed against the JESUITS, because, as was declared, they had not complied with the former one. This, under the name *Immensa pastorum*, is the first remarkable papal Bull against the conduct and practices of the Order in its missions in

Asia and Africa, Brazil and Paraguay. The Pope, in his Bull, forebade under penalty of excommunication to all, but *especially to the Jesuits*, to make *slaves of the Indians, to sell them, barter or give them away, to separate them from their wives and children, to rob them of their property, to transport them from their native soil*, &c. This affords a pretty clear insight into what was really going on. And could Benedict XIV. have issued such a Bull without an urgent necessity for it? Will any champion of the Jesuits charge his Holiness with injustice to the Order in this instance? And what must have been the state of things fifteen years later, when Pombal strove to reform these abuses?

To complete the discomfiture of the arrogant Society, the Vicar shortly afterwards, June 7th, published the following unexpected decree. "For just reasons known to us, and which concern especially the service of God and the public welfare, we suspend from the power of confessing and preaching, in the whole extent of our Patriarchate, the fathers of the Society of Jesus,

from this moment, and until further orders on our part."

In the mean time, while Pombal was thus successfully regaining for his king and government the power and influence which the Jesuits had usurped in Portugal and America, and exerting every nerve to confirm the Pope in the wisdom of the steps his Holiness had taken, a most atrocious attempt was made upon the life of his Majesty, in which, as the Jesuits were deeply implicated, we must interrupt the narrative of the negotiations, between the See of Rome and the government of Portugal, for the further humiliation of these ecclesiastics, to give an account of this horrible conspiracy.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

POMBAL'S first attacks upon the Jesuit order were thus commented on by Mr. Hay in a despatch written at this period, October 10th, 1757. "As the Order of Jesuits is very powerful in this country, their disgrace is the more remarkable: but there is great reason to believe that the obstructions the joint forces have met with in their expeditions (in South America) have been chiefly fomented by those of this Order."

It is needless to multiply extracts on this subject: they all tend to prove Pombal's energy and wisdom.

On the 24th of June, 1758, Cardinal Saldanha was raised to the dignity of Patriarch.

CHAPTER VIII.

Remarks on the dangerous Position of Princes — Honour due to the Character of Dom Joseph — Aveiro Conspiracy — Chief Persons implicated in it — Attempted Assassination of the King — Great Secresy observed in discovering the Assassins — Arrest of the Conspirators — Their Trial and Condemnation — Execution — Severity vindicated — Fate of the other Conspirators — Anecdote of Count San Lourenço — Malagrida — Church erected to commemorate the King's providential Escape — Appendix — Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office.

CHAPTER VIII.

Princes rarely possess the talent of properly estimating the abilities of their ministers. Hence we find how seldom a weak king gives his confidence, or intrusts his affairs, to men calculated to supply the absence of that intellectual power, which is too frequently observed to be wanting on the throne. But this deficiency is more correctly to be referred to the neglect of early tuition, and the machinations of interested parasites; to the enervation of ease, and the debilitating consequences of sensual gratification, which an exalted condition of life so liberally presents. As the appetite that is hourly gratified is soon rendered capricious, and the man that is never contradicted soon believes himself infallible; so the unhappy Prince, at an age when

his innocence exposes him to deception, and experience has not yet taught him to distrust his flatterers, sinks under the pleasurable emotions which oppress, and is forced into the honied snares with which interest and intrigue encompass him, until at last he considers himself a being without the pale of human sympathies; for great must be that mind which can rise superior to the flattery of men whose words and actions unite in inducing him to consider himself above the rest of mankind, as being the possessor of power derived direct from the Deity; and stoical that heart which can receive with indifference, and discard without emotion, the solicitations of pleasure and the temptations of fruition, so urgent in the palaces of Princes. Yet these are the snares, these the temptations, these the perils, to which every youthful monarch is exposed. How dearly then should we prize the memory of a wise king, and revere the character of a temperate prince! The ruler who is blessed with the great faculty of discovering the genius of a minister, and endowed with the courage

necessary to protect him in his exalted and envied position, has generally been surrounded by men distinguished for probity and renowned for virtue, whose talents and wisdom have not only illumined the pages of history, but have cast a lustre even on the very sovereign himself. It is this sentiment which I have endeavoured to amplify, which makes Sully, the great prototype of Pombal, exclaim, " Ce ne sont jamais les bons sujets qui manquent au roi, c'est le roi qui manque aux bons sujets."

. Fortunately for Portugal, she found in the person of her sovereign, Dom Joseph, a mind that appreciated the genius of Pombal, and a spirit that rose superior to the prejudices of his age and country; and while admiring the transcendant talents of the minister, we must not forget to award the meed of judgment and the crown of honour to Dom Joseph, who supported Pombal against so many intrigues, and protected him against the malice of his enemies, during an eventful period of nearly thirty years. Under Dom John V. Pombal might have passed his days

quietly in his native town, or possibly might have distinguished himself as a skilful diplomatist in foreign countries; but he never would have been placed in that commanding position, which enabled him to undertake and to consummate those multifarious reforms which characterise the important reign of Dom Joseph.

It is in the unswerving firmness of the monarch, and the steady support he gave his minister, that we must look for the origin of that horrible conspiracy to which we have alluded in the last chapter. The enemies of the minister saw in the king the only obstacle to their vengeance, and, in co-operation with the Jesuits, resolved to remove him by assassination. The leader of this conspiracy was no less a personage than the Môrdomo Môr, or Master of the Royal Household, the Duke of Aveiro, a man enjoying Dom Joseph's confidence and favour. The Duke was a man of boundless ambition, inflated with pride, and debased by avarice; nor did he possess any quality of mind or body which compensated for these vices. It is frequently impossible to

offer any reason for the conduct of men in particular situations; but the Duke of Aveiro seems to have writhed under the torture of imaginary injuries, or possibly brooded over some unintentional slight of his master or the minister; and this morbid feeling was encouraged and matured by the Jesuits who surrounded him. If this explanation be not sufficient, we shall then only be able to find the cause of his joining in a conspiracy against a monarch who confided in him, in the supposition that he was capable of participating in any undertaking which seemed likely to lead to the aggrandizement of his family, and to the acquisition of wealth. The next in rank amongst the conspirators was the Marquis of Tavora, a man of moderate abilities — one of those numerous instruments of mischief which designing men ever find prepared to second and assist them. It is not necessary here to delay, for the purpose of analysing nicely the peculiar motives which induced this nobleman to conspire against his sovereign. But it may be remarked that his wife, whose ruling passion was ambition,

had been refused a ducal title which she had solicited for her husband, and it is not impossible that she prompted the Marquis to avenge her disappointment by the assassination of Dom Joseph. Her daring and intrepid spirit made her the soul of the conspiracy; added to which, she enjoyed all that influence and power which wealth combined with nobility and supported by talent never fail to secure. She had been one of the most beautiful women of the Court, and still retained, in the gracefulness of her manners, traces of those blandishments which captivate and enslave all who approach them.

To these leaders of the conspiracy were added her sons, Luiz Bernardo and José Maria de Tavora. The one inherited all the violence and ambition of his mother; the other, of meek and quiet disposition, resembled his father, and, like him, was easily seduced to second the schemes of others. Dom Jeronimo d'Ataide, Count d'Atouguia, a man of but little talent or reputation, entered into the conspiracy. Five other individuals of less consideration were enlisted as active instru-

ments in the assassination. Every thing being prepared, the conspirators resolved to put the design in execution on the night of the 3d of September, 1758.

It was known that the king would return to the palace at night, and the conspirators accordingly posted themselves along the line of road by which he came, in several divisions, in order that if he escaped the first attack he might fall by the fire of one or other of the parties. At eleven o'clock on that eventful night the king, in a *sege*, a kind of cab drawn by two horses, unsuspicious of danger, and attended only by his confidential valet Teixeira, approached the first division of the conspirators, consisting of the Duke of Aveiro, and one João Miguel, both on horseback and armed with blunderbusses. They waited with impatience until the vehicle was directly in a line with them; when, with the precipitation which characterises assassins, they discharged their weapons at it. Happily for the king, only one of these instruments of destruction fulfilled the intent.

The other missed fire. Neither did any mischief. Terrified and not knowing what further danger to dread, the postilion hurried onwards to where Antonio Alvarez Ferreira and José Policarpo were stationed, who instantly pursued the carriage, and discharged both their weapons, which were loaded with slugs, into it. The slugs penetrated the carriage in every direction, and severely wounded the king in several places. Nevertheless the prudent monarch did not lose his presence of mind, but, calling to the postilion, ordered him to turn back immediately; and, in order not to alarm his family at the palace, directed him to drive to the residence of the royal surgeon. The command was critical. The postilion obeyed, and the wounded king escaped the other ambuscades designed for his destruction.*

It will perhaps hardly be credited in these days, and in a country like England, where justice is openly and impartially administered to

* See Appendix, Note 1., at the end of this chapter.

the rich and the poor, that notwithstanding this base attempt upon the life of the sovereign, no overt means were taken for three months to bring the offenders to justice, during which time his Majesty remained in entire seclusion.

It required all Pombal's skill and judgment to conceal from every one his suspicions as to the real actors in this dastardly outrage. But it must not be supposed that the time was unprofitably employed, and that no secret inquiries were set on foot, no private examination entered upon, or that the minister slumbered at his post. All was done that was necessary, without alarming the guilty, or exciting their suspicions; and while the king was confined to his palace, Pombal suffered no word to escape him, no single expression that might betray his intentions. The conspirators became alarmed at this ominous silence. It seemed to forebode a coming storm. In a letter written at the period, and found among the papers of the Marquis of Tavora, the writer says:—"The silence of this man alarms

me. He appears perfectly easy about what has just occurred." But though Pombal cautiously concealed his sentiments, the public were loud in their expressions, and rumour named the criminals. However, it was not till he had satisfied himself upon all points connected with the conspiracy, that a proclamation was published, dated December the 9th, detailing an account of the affair, and offering a reward for the apprehension of the assassins.

Four days afterwards, on the 13th of December, the work of retributive justice commenced, by the arrest of the Marquis of Tavora, his two sons, his four brothers, his sons-in-law, the Count d'Atouguia and the Marquis d'Alorna, together with Dom Manoel de Souza Calhariz; all of whom, with some of their servants, were conveyed to the prisons at Belem. The Marchioness of Tavora was sent to a religious house. Other members of the Tavora family were likewise imprisoned, or immured in convents. In the mean while the Count d'Obidos, Antonio da Costa Freire, the Solicitor-General, and the Count de

Ribeira were also arrested, and the Jesuits were forbidden to leave their houses.*

The arrest of the Duke of Aveiro was singular. He had retired to his Quinta at Azeitão, and was at a window with his valet, José Polycarpo, when they perceived the approach of many persons on horseback, whom the valet rightly conjecturing were the officers sent to arrest them, advised the Duke to seek safety in flight. He was unable, however, to convince or persuade him, but flying himself, escaped the officers of justice. And what is singular, though ten thousand crowns were offered for his apprehension, his retreat was never discovered.

The Duke being arrested and conveyed to prison, his papers were seized and examined. Amongst a multiplicity of documents which threw light upon the conspiracy, was a letter addressed to himself containing the following words: "I have read the plan your excellency sent me on the *great affair*, which is well arranged; if it

* See Appendix, Note 2., at the end of this chapter.

is executed as well as it is planned, I consider failure impossible." And in another, "I approve your design: under present circumstances there is no choice. To destroy the authority of king Sebastian*, we must annihilate that of king Joseph."

A tribunal was immediately appointed to try the inculpated prisoners, and another was established to hear depositions in their favour. But the confessions of some, and the testimony of others, afforded such manifest proofs of their guilt, that little was left for the tribunal to do but to pronounce judgment. Accordingly, on the 12th of January 1759, the trials being brought to a close, the three ministers of state, as presidents of the court, and seven judges, signed the judgment and sentence of the court, condemning eleven of the conspirators to immediate execution. In this document, a copious and detailed statement was set forth of the evidence upon which

* Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, Marquis of Pombal.

the sentence of the tribunal was founded, and by which the guilt of the parties was established.

The sentences of the Duke of Aveiro and the Marquis of Tavora were—that they should be conveyed to the public square at Belem, with halters round their necks, and then, proclamation having been made of the crimes for which they suffered, they were to be broken on the wheel; their bodies consumed by fire, and their ashes thrown into the sea. Their arms and achievements were everywhere ordered to be effaced; their property confiscated, and their residences pulled down, and salt strewn on the sites.

Luiz Bernardo and José Maria de Tavora, the Count d' Atouguia, Braz José Romeiro, João Miguel, and Manoel Alvares were sentenced to similar punishments, with the exception that they were first strangled before they were bound upon the wheel. Antonio Alvares Ferreira and José Polycarpo were condemned to be burned alive; but as the latter had escaped, his effigy was substituted in his stead. Lastly, the Marchioness

of Tavora, in consideration of her rank and sex, was sentenced to decapitation.

These sentences were carried into execution the day following the judgment. The bodies being consumed, the scaffolding, and even the instruments by which the criminals suffered, were then cast into the fire, and the ashes thrown into the Tagus, that no vestiges of such heinous offences might remain. The name of Tavora was abolished, and a river so named was henceforward ordered to be called the "River of Death." *

It cannot be doubted, though contrary to the spirit of the milder code of modern laws, that these severe punishments served to repress further conspiracies, and contributed not only to the safety of the king, but to the peace of the country. For had a greater relaxation taken place in the mode of carrying into effect such cruel, I may add such barbarous, punishments as the law awarded to traitors, it would have been

* See Appendix, Note 3., at the end of this chapter.

construed into timidity, and would only have given rise to fresh conspiracies, and perhaps more successful attempts at assassination. A severe example was necessary to stamp the enormity of the crime of regicide by the enormity of the punishment, so that fear and horror might be guardians of the lives of kings. What at first may seem harsh is frequently the most merciful course on such occasions. Two or three lives sacrificed at the commencement of a tumult, have often prevented a serious insurrection; and this principle, now acted upon in most occasions of popular riots, is found to be most consonant to humanity, and to public security. *

* Pombal has often been reproached with having permitted such an execution to take place during his administration; and the terms harsh and cruel have been liberally bestowed upon him. What then might be said of the punishment inflicted upon Ravaillac? He is described as having molten lead, boiling oil, sulphur, and resin poured into his wounds, and then drawn and quartered by four horses! It is true that this barbarous punishment was inflicted at an earlier period, and was in accordance with the spirit of the times.

In the month of June following, Dom Joseph rewarded his faithful minister with the title of

But the polished kingdom of France affords an equally shocking example in later days. In 1766, seven years subsequent to the Aveiro conspiracy, we read of the following execution. (See *Chronologie Universelle* by Loève-Veimars). "Le jeune Chevalier de Labarre et quelques enfans de son âge, accusés d'avoir outragé un crucifix placé sur un pont d'Abbeville, sont condamnés à subir l'amputation de la langue arrachée avec des tenailles, la torture ordinaire et extraordinaire, et à être brûlés à petit feu; le jugement confirmé par le parlement de Paris est executé par cinq bourreaux. Le Chevalier de Labarre, après avoir subi la question, fut exécuté à Abbeville. Ce malheureux enfant monta sur l'échafaud avec un courage paisible, et souffrit le supplice sans se plaindre. Son exécution causa une telle horreur que l'on n'osa pas poursuivre le procès des autres accusés."

Nor have these judicial severities been confined to by-gone centuries, to Roman Catholic states, or to countries where the people are uneducated and neglected. In Protestant Prussia, under the rule of the present enlightened monarch, a revolting execution of a criminal occurred at a very recent period. The following account was published in *The Times* two years back.

"*Execution of the Bishop of Ermeland's Murderer.*— Rudolph Kühnapfel, the tailor, who murdered Bishop Von Hatten and his housekeeper, in the episcopal residence at

Count d'Oeyras and the commandery of St. Miguel in the Archbishopric of Braga; and insisted that

Frauenburgh, was executed early on the morning of the 7th inst., on the hill about a mile from that town, near the Elbing road. The judgments pronounced in both instances by the criminal tribunals concurred in sentencing him to suffer death by the wheel, commencing at the lower extremities and proceeding upwards (*von unten auf*). The sentence was confirmed by the royal assent, dated the 15th ult., to which a new form was given. In the late reign it used to run thus —'We have read the sentence, and order the execution.' The present king has adopted the following phrase—'We have read this sentence, and shall leave free course to the law.' The prisoner behaved in a very regardless manner for a long time, and showed nothing like remorse or contrition until after the sentence of the Court in the last Resort was made known to him. A marked alteration then took place in his conduct. On the 28th ult., when the Cabinet order for his execution was read to him he was so agitated that he could not speak. He then willingly received the spiritual assistance of the priest. The day before the execution he confessed, and received the sacrament. The *Elbing Zeitung* gives the following account of the execution:—

"'At half-past four in the morning the prisoner was removed in a cart from Braunsberg under a secure escort, and arrived about six o'clock at the place appointed for the execution.

"'A crowd of persons, exceeding 10,000, had assembled

whenever he appeared in public he should be attended by a mounted guard, in order to protect

by day-light from all parts of the diocese, and it is worthy of remark that more than one half of the collected mass consisted of females. The delinquent having alighted from the car in a very low state, a restorative draught was administered to him, after which he was conducted to the scaffold. There, on his fetters being struck off, he kneeled down with the accompanying priest and prayed. The chief of the Braunsberg tribunal then read the sentence, which ordered the execution by breaking on the wheel from below upwards, and closed with an address to the three executioners present in these words:—"And now I deliver him to you for the due fulfilment of this judgment."

"'On hearing this the malefactor looked round to the priest, sank again on his knees, and ejaculated a short prayer. Then rising, he laid himself with calm resolution on the scaffold, and, refusing the assistance of the executioners, placed his limbs in the required position. This done, he said with a firm voice—"God have mercy on my poor soul!" One of the executioners covered his face with a cloth. The terrible operation by the wheel now commenced. In *ten minutes* the wretched man was dead, and the body was deposited in a coffin prepared to receive it. The spectators looked on in a calm, orderly manner, preserving a silence suited to the awful scene before them, and the crime of the sufferer. When all was over, they dispersed quietly, but apparently under the influence of deep emotion.'" It is useless to multiply in-

him from the presumed revenge of the families of the assassins. Shortly after, Pombal's brother, Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, was appointed (July 1759) Joint Secretary of State (with Pombal) for the Home department.

Before dismissing this episode in our Memoirs, we shall allude to the punishment awarded to those conspirators who did not expiate their offences on the scaffold or at the stake. This I am enabled to do from a manuscript written by the Marquis d'Alorna during his imprisonment. It appears that they were not used harshly, for the Marquis informs us that he was treated with much less rigour than he expected. They had been led to believe that they would be put to the torture; but he confesses that this horrible engine was not employed. The Marquis, how-

stances: but if we consider the difficulties of Pombal's situation, and contrast the circumstances of these executions in Portugal with the horrors that have attended capital punishments in other countries, for crimes of a less heinous nature, instead of accusing Pombal of inhumanity, we shall rather be disposed to wonder that he yielded so little to the sanguinary spirit of the times.

ever, was not altogether comfortable, for he complains bitterly, in very inflated language, that the sheets on his bed were not changed sufficiently often! And the frequent mention of similar trifling inconveniences cannot but provoke a smile, especially as from the satements of the Jesuits one would believe that the sufferings of the prisoners during the reign of Dom Joseph were dreadful in the extreme. Indeed, so little severity was used, that the Marquis tells us he was in constant communication with his family, and was allowed the means of obtaining continual supplies, not only of the necessaries, but the luxuries of life.

Count d'Obidos, being of a gloomy and melancholy temperament, passed his days agreeably enough so soon as he obtained permission to see his confessor twice a week. But neither he, nor Dom Manoel de Souza, nor the Count de Ribeira survived their imprisonment. The Marquis d'Alorna also very devoutly relates, that in digging a grave for the Count of Ribeira, the body of a priest in his sacerdotal habit was found entire,

notwithstanding the quantity of lime and vinegar which had been thrown into the coffin to destroy the corpse.

Most of the conspirators were enthusiasts in religion, and such have always been the readiest instruments of ambition, whether for good or evil. Costa Freire and three of the Tavora family were confined in the same prison. One of the latter passed his whole time in praying in so loud a voice that he astonished his fellow prisoners.

The Count de San Lourenço, who some time after was also confined, but for a different offence, never lost his gaiety during his imprisonment. He had been a favourite with the king, and had been allowed great liberty of speech, which he abused in continual attempts to prejudice his Majesty against Pombal. One day, the Count, imagining that he had proved some improper exertion of regal authority on the part of Pombal, and finding that the king was unable to deny it, exclaimed triumphantly, "Well then, will your Majesty still retain this

man in your service?" "Yes," replied Dom Joseph, "for where he commits one fault, any of you would commit a hundred." Beckford met this same San Lourenço some years after, and in one of his letters describes his singularly imaginative character.

Amongst the many Jesuits implicated in the conspiracy were Malagrida, of whom I shall presently make more particular mention, Moreira, and João de Mattos. The first was either a most perfect hypocrite, or he laboured under a most extraordinary religious hallucination. He passed many hours a day in prayer in the most painful postures; sometimes with his head touching the ground, at others in positions still more difficult and painful. He believed that he heard a voice continually calling him,—a delusion which Mattos and many other of his companions declared was Divine inspiration. At length, possibly to vary the monotony of confinement, he commenced the Life of Saint Anne—a strange performance, which in another place I shall take an opportunity to examine.

These were the principal characters who suffered for this wicked and cowardly attempt; but what number of inferior persons were more or less punished I am unable to say. It is probable they were not very numerous. The number, however, of individuals suspected of being privy to and connected with this extensive conspiracy has been estimated by some as high as two hundred and fifty.

Two years after these events, on the anniversary of his fortunate escape, his Most Faithful Majesty, in commemoration of his signal and providential deliverance, laid the foundation-stone of the high altar of a church which was subsequently erected on the very spot where the execrable attempt upon his life was made.*

* See Appendix, Note 4., at the end of this chapter.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII.

Note 1. page 192. It was not until ten days after this attempted assassination, that the British minister, Mr. Hay, forwarded an account of the occurrence to his Government. News had arrived at Lisbon of the death of the Spanish queen, and the Court had consequently been ordered to go into mourning. Mr. Hay's despatch, dated September 13th, 1758, affords us a curious instance of the Court etiquette of those days. "The execution of this order has been interrupted by his Most Faithful Majesty's indisposition, it being the custom of this Court to put on *gala* when any of the royal family is blooded. When I went to Court to inquire after his Majesty's health, I was there informed that the king, on Sunday night the 3d inst., passing through a gallery to go to the queen's apartment, had the misfortune to fall, and bruise his right arm. He has been blooded eight different times, and as his Majesty is a fat bulky man, to prevent any humour fixing there, his physicians have advised that he should not use this arm, but refrain from business for some time." In consequence of which, the queen, by a decree dated September 7th, was appointed regent during Dom Joseph's illness.

The English minister was better informed of the passing events than this part of his despatch would lead us to conclude. In a postscript written in cyphers he adds the following relation of the catastrophe.

" The account I have given of the King of Portugal's indisposition is in the manner I was informed at the Court — the reality is this. His Majesty, Sunday night, 3d inst., going with a favourite servant to visit a mistress, (upon which occasion there are two chaises — the king in one, the servant in the other following him; but unfortunately that night they were together,) three men on horseback in masks met them; let the foremost equipage pass, and attacked the last. One fired at the postilion — the other two at the chaise. The king is wounded in the right arm, and some say in his left side, but not dangerously. The servant is much hurt — the driver is mortally so. This blow is thought to have been designed against the man, not against the master. This has greatly alarmed the Court, where it is endeavoured to be hushed up; but it is talked of abroad, more publicly than prudently. What a condition this unhappy nation would have been in had the master fallen!"

In a subsequent despatch we are told that " the major part of the shot passed under the king's arm, tore his coat and grazed his waistcoat, but did not reach his side." In this miraculous manner," exclaims the writer, " has the life of this excellent prince been preserved." " This conspiracy," he adds, " is looked upon in the light it well deserves of horror and detestation. It seems to have been confined to one family, and the discovery of it

seems to carry no consequences with it in the eyes of the people. So that it is difficult to say what other principle it could be founded upon than that of a wild extravagant ambition, of which it is, all circumstances considered, perhaps the most extraordinary instance that can be met with in the history of any nation upon earth."

Note 2. page 195. The Marquis of Tavora held the rank of a general in Dom Joseph's service. The following are the particulars of the arrest of some of the conspirators given in a despatch, December 30th, 1758. "The general, being abroad when the officers went to his house, and hearing that several of his family had been taken up, went that morning to the palace, and desired to be admitted to speak to the king. But by his Majesty's orders, and in his name, he was demanded to deliver up his sword, and was conducted prisoner to the queen's palace, where some apartments had been prepared for the prisoners."

We are further informed that the old Marchioness of Tavora was sent to the convent *das Grillas*, and the young Marchioness to that of *Santos;* that a guard of soldiers was left at the doors of the prisoners' dwellings; and that the four convents belonging to the Order of Jesuits were surrounded.

On the first of January, the Counts of Obidos and Ribeira were confined in the castle of St. Julian. On the 4th, the Duchess of Aveiro, the Countess of Atouguia, and the Marchioness of Alorna, with their children, were sent to different nunneries. And, on the 11th, eight Jesuits were taken into custody.

Note 3. page 198. The execution of these malefactors is thus described by Mr. Hay.

"Saturday the 13th inst. being the day appointed for the execution, a scaffold had been built in the square opposite to the house where the prisoners were confined, and eight wheels fixed upon it. On one corner of the scaffolding was placed Antonio Alvares Ferreira, and on the other corner the effigy of Joseph Policarpo de Azevedo, who is still missing — these being the two persons who fired at the back of the king's equipage. About half an hour after eight o'clock in the morning the execution began. The criminals were brought out one by one, each under a strong guard. The Marchioness of Tavora was the first that was brought upon the scaffold, where she was beheaded at one stroke. Her body was afterwards placed upon the floor of the scaffolding, and covered with a linen cloth. Young José Maria de Tavora, the young Marquis de Tavora, the Count d'Atouguia, and three servants of the Duke of Aveiro, were first strangled at a stake, and afterwards their limbs broken with an iron instrument. The Marquis of Tavora and the Duke of Aveiro had their limbs broken alive. The duke, for greater ignominy, was brought bareheaded to the place of execution. The body and limbs of each of the criminals, after they were executed, were thrown upon a wheel, and covered with a linen cloth. But when Antonio Alvares Ferreira was brought to the stake, whose sentence was to be burnt alive, the other bodies were exposed to his view. The combustible matter which had been laid

under the scaffolding was set fire to; the whole machine with the bodies was consumed to ashes, and then thrown into the sea."

I cannot avoid again observing in this place, that the severity of these punishments elicited no remark of disapprobation from the English minister, Mr. Hay, who regarded them as but consequent on the usual course of justice on these regicidal occasions.

Mr. Hay's despatch, dated February 10th, affords another anecdote respecting this infamous attempt on the king's life. "As his Majesty (George the Second) is desirous of being informed of the particulars of this conspiracy, there is a circumstance that seems to have been industriously concealed, but is not therefore the less credited, and which is the only one that accounts for the treacherous behaviour of the Tavora family — the king's intimacy with the young marquis's wife, which began during the time that the general was Viceroy of India, and has been continued ever since. This lets us into the whole proceeding: this may be the cause of the honours heaped of late years upon the old marquis and his relations — this the foundation of their disgust for the stain cast upon the honour of their family. When the rest of the relations were confined, this lady was sent to a convent, not a very strict one, where it is said she lives very much at her ease."

Note 4. page 207. Before concluding this long appendix, it remains but to notice the punishment of the three unfortunate Souzas, supposed to have been implicated with the minister Mendonça in 1756. We have

already seen that Dom Manoel was imprisoned at the time of the Aveiro conspiracy, and that he died in confinement. He had been ordered, a twelvemonth previous to his arrest, to retire to his country seat at Calhariz; and his brother Dom Luiz had been similarly banished to Mertola, a place upon the southern frontiers of Portugal.

A despatch from M. de Mello, Portuguese minister at London, addressed to the English government, informs us more fully of the offences of the third brother, the Bailli Joâo de Souza. This despatch is dated May 23d, 1760, and is in French. Long-tems avant la susdite année (1757) on soupçonnait à Lisbonne le dit Bailli d'avoir des secrètes intelligences avec les Ministres de France." "On lui a ordonné qu'en 24 heures de tems il devait sortir de Paris, et s'en retourner à Lisbonne par la voie de mer. Le même ordre a été donné à M. de Lacerda, ministre du Roi en France, qu'on soupçonna d'avoir connaissance de ce complot."

It appears that M. de Lacerda obeyed, and was simply banished from Court on his arrival, But the Bailli refused. Upon which, Dom Joseph, by a decree dated May 16th, 1757, ordered, "that he be banished, his property confiscated, and that he be degraded from his nobility."

CHAPTER IX.

Arrest of eight Jesuits—Malagrida — Property of the Society sequestrated—Its Expulsion from Portugal resolved upon—Memorial addressed to Clement XIII.—Papal Reply —Jesuits banished from Portugal—And from her Colonies —Brief of Clement XIII.—Quarrel between the Courts of Rome and Lisbon—A Manifesto is published by His Most Faithful Majesty, detailing his Grounds of Complaint against the Court of Rome.

CHAPTER IX.

We must now revert back to a period anterior to the punishment of the conspirators, namely, to the 11th of January, 1759, two days before the execution of the Duke of Aveiro and his accomplices, when an order was issued for the arrest of eight Jesuits, the already mentioned enthusiast Malagrida, and seven others suspected of being implicated in the plot. On a careful examination of their papers, which had been seized at the same time, satisfactory proof was obtained of their guilty participation. But what will appear singular, it was discovered by these papers that some months previous to the attempt on the king's life, Malagrida warned Donna Anna de Lorena, one of the ladies of the palace, of some obscure danger that threatened his Majesty.

This lady, actuated by what motive it is now impossible to say, thought proper to send back the letter to the writer, without taking any further notice of its contents, and it was consequently found afterwards among Malagrida's papers.

From the several examinations of these ecclesiastics, and from the documents discovered in their possession, such information was obtained as disclosed the most secret and heinous intrigues of the Society of Jesus. And on the 19th of January following, the king determined on issuing a decree for the sequestration of all their property, real and personal, as well as for the seizure of their papers; to which was appended an express prohibition of intercourse with seculars, and a command to observe a rigorous confinement to their houses. This extreme measure was the effect of a firm conviction of their guilt in the mind of the king, who by a decree dated in this same month declared the Jesuits the active agents in the late conspiracy.

At length, to complete their confusion, Pombal,

being convinced that the country would never prosper nor enjoy quiet, nor the king's or his own life be safe, while they remained in the country, determined on their total expulsion, not only from Portugal, but from all her dominions. With this view, a memorial was addressed to Pope Clement XIII., dated April 20th, 1759, expressive of that intention, setting forth in the preamble that the Jesuits as a body had degenerated from the purposes for which their order was instituted, and that their principles and doctrines were dangerous to the well-being and tranquillity of the kingdom. It was moreover stated that his Most Faithful Majesty, having despatched orders to his generals commanding in Brazil to effect the exchanges agreed upon between the two crowns of Portugal and Spain, and to settle the limits according to the stipulations contained in the Boundary Treaty, he had received the following answer: "That the performance of this treaty was subject to great difficulties, because the Superiors of the Order of Jesus, having wrested from the Indians their

personal liberty, their property, and their trade, had so fortified themselves in the country, that it would be no easy matter to subdue them; that these religious, having become lords and absolute masters of so many thousands of men inaccessible to the Portuguese and Spaniards, who had no communication with them, held them in such submission as had never been acquired over rational creatures; that these people, so fully and so strangely brought under subjection, would rather allow themselves to be cut to pieces than disobey the least command of these fathers, and admit into their lands and habitations either Portuguese or Spaniards." *

* The following extract from the archives of the Portuguese Legation at Vienna will serve to throw some light on the means employed by the Jesuits in America to defend themselves.

"Vienna, August 18th, 1754. Some time ago it was reported that the Spanish Jesuits had sent several French officers to America to instruct the Tapuyas of America in military discipline. As I had never been able to discover the author of, or the authority for, this report, which was also current in the coffee-houses in Lisbon, I thought it needless

The memorial went on to complain of the repeated excesses they committed, and of the unlawful trade they carried on, to the disgrace of the church, and the injury of the nation; of the prominent part they had taken in the conspiracy against the king; and concludes by entreating his Holiness to concur with the royal authority in putting an end to such "dangerous excesses, immoderate licences, and infamous outrages, which fill all Europe with scandal and disgust."

A schedule was attached containing a statement of the property of the society in Portugal, in order that his Holiness might order the distribution or disposition of it. A request was also made for a Letter of Faculty for the punish-

to trouble your excellency on the subject. Now, however, I have ascertained the fact that French officers are present among the Indians; and Count Arzelor and M. Aubterre, the ministers from Spain and France, have assured me, that the general commanding the Indian cavalry is a Frenchman, under the name of Father Tonnerre. It is natural to conclude that he is not without subalterns, and that the cassock is the uniform of the officers."

ment of those Jesuits who were the authors or accomplices in the attempt of September 3d 1758.

In reply to this memorial, his Holiness addressed two letters to his Most Faithful Majesty, dated August 2nd, 1759, granting him power, as justice might demand, to try all ecclesiastics implicated in the conspiracy; at the same time begging him to use all moderation and mercy, and cautioning him to avoid the shedding of the blood of those devoted to the service of God.

On the 5th of October following, the Cardinal Patriarch Saldanha, by the king's authority, published a mandate which directed the immediate and total expulsion of the entire Society of Jesus from Portugal. Some of those who had not yet made their solemn profession, and who petitioned to be released from their simple vows, were permitted to remain. A few others were detained in prison to answer for their individual crimes and political offences. The rest were deported in vessels appointed for that purpose and landed in Civita Vecchia—not perhaps the

most acceptable presents to his Holiness. * Shortly afterwards those in the colonies were likewise sent to Italy, and thus the Portuguese territories were freed from the most restless and the most mischievous society that ever existed. Had Pombal done nothing else to command our respect and admiration, this one bold act is sufficient to immortalise his name, and to render his administration celebrated in the annals of European history, and the most glorious in those of Portugal.

Soon after this, in consequence of the urgent demands of the Court of Lisbon, Clement XIII., in December 1759, published a Brief, in which he granted to the Board of Conscience the requisite powers to proceed to inflict capital punishments on ecclesiastics, seculars as well as regulars, guilty of the crime of treason; on condition, however, that in this tribunal the pre-

* Application was made to the empress Maria Theresa to permit these religious to settle themselves in her dominions; but this prudent sovereign had either too little zeal or too much discretion to receive such visitors.

sident should be an ecclesiastic. It is further declared in this Brief, that it is indispensable for the public good, that the scandal of so enormous a crime should be entirely expiated by the severity of the punishment, in order that for the future no one should venture on such nefarious crimes in the hope of escaping with impunity under the cloak of some pretended privilege.

Thus, after almost unparalleled difficulties and obstacles, the torch of treason was extinguished in the blood of the conspirators, and the power and influence of the Jesuits were nearly annihilated by a faithful exposure of their principles and crimes. It is true the ministers of his Holiness still continued to afford them their secret and even open support; which conduct, together with some absurd demands upon the court of Lisbon by that of Rome, gave Pombal fresh causes of anxiety respecting the future relations of the two governments. But his was a spirit which could neither brook the encroachments of the church upon the civil government

of Portugal, nor permit the authority of his master to be insulted or despised. Nor was a cause of quarrel long wanting between the two courts.

The king having appointed the bishop of Angola to the vacant archbishopric of Bahia, submitted, as was customary, the presentation for the approbation and confirmation of the Pope; but his Holiness refused to acknowledge the appointment until he received the authenticated *act*, containing the archbishop's resignation, which he professed to doubt. The Portuguese envoy, Almada, replied, that the king's word and guarantee ought to be sufficient to substantiate the fact, but nevertheless he would procure the *act* without delay; at the same time expressing himself highly indignant at the insult offered to his master, the particulars of which he forthwith transmitted to his court.

With the view, therefore, of supporting the dignity of the crown of Portugal, and of defending the past and exposing the future policy of the government, a manifesto was published in

the name of his Most Faithful Majesty, in which the causes of complaint against the court of Rome are most copiously detailed. This document, although of considerable length, cannot fail to be interesting, especially at a moment like the present, when we see the courts of Rome and Madrid are at variance, in a manner that promises little hope for the integrity of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain.

CHAPTER X.

Manifesto published by the Court of Portugal—The Pope refuses an Audience to the Portuguese Minister—The Manifesto is delivered by M. D'Almada to the Cardinal Orsini—Complaints against the Cardinal Acciajuoli—His Expulsion from Lisbon—Rupture declared between the Courts of Rome and Portugal—Consequences of Papal Pretensions over the Civil Government of other Countries—Cardinal Torregiani—The Nuncio's Opinion of Dom Joseph and Pombal—Appendix—Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office.

CHAPTER X.

MANIFESTO published by the Court of Portugal, under the title of "Exposition of the Facts and of the Motives which decided its Conduct."

I. His Most Faithful Majesty, imitating and even surpassing the example of his august predecessors, has given to the Holy Father, to the ministers of his Holiness, and to the whole Christian world, the most decided proofs, and the most striking testimonies, that can be afforded by a monarch (who in temporal concerns acknowledges no other superior than God), of his filial respect for the sacred person of the Vicar of Jesus Christ; of his unshaken devotion to the Holy Apostolic See; of his pious and constant wish to carry the regard he feels towards the

pontifical authority to the most extreme point of exemplary condescension.

II. The clear and evident proof of this is to be found in the memorials and letters of instruction, under the dates of the 8th of October, 1757, and of the 10th of February, 1758. His Most Faithful Majesty therein addresses the most respectful and the most urgent supplications to the Holy See, in a conjuncture wherein he might certainly have dispensed himself from so doing. In fact, this monarch was authorised and even bound by divine law, by that of nature, and the law of nations, to drive out of his kingdoms and domains the members of the said Society of Jesus, whose corrupt regimen had excited against his Majesty a great number of his subjects, and had fomented in his kingdom a seditious and intestine war, and an open and declared war in his transmarine domains. The former involved his Majesty in a very heavy expenditure; the latter has cost him more than twenty millions of cruzados to re-establish and maintain the laws in his transmarine states, and to bring back to

obedience many multitudes drawn into rebellion by the systematic doctrine taught by these religious, while giving themselves out as apostles solely occupied with the conversion of souls.

III. His Majesty's letter of the 20th of April, 1759, with the memorial and documents thereto annexed, further furnish the greatest proofs of his unshaken devotion to the Holy See. It is evident that, if this monarch had not been deeply influenced by these principles, he would have been very indifferent, after the horrible attempt made upon his person, on the 3rd of September 1758, about having recourse to the Holy See, before the infliction of punishment on these pernicious and hardened men, who had plotted this execrable conspiracy, and projected this detestable crime. His Majesty was himself authorised to have inflicted upon them the punishment they had merited, as well by his own divine authority, as by the law of nature and the law of nations. This is the daily practice towards ecclesiastics and regulars when guilty of crimes of much less importance, in the kingdom

of France, where religion is in so flourishing a state, and in the republic of Venice, where so much attention is paid to the observance of the respect due to the Holy See. The kingdom of Portugal itself furnishes similar examples in cases of rebellion and sedition of a far less serious complexion than the one in question. The kings João II., Manoel, and João IV. availed themselves of their whole authority, without ever being reproached with a want of becoming deference to the authority of the Holy Apostolic See.

IV. His Most Faithful Majesty did hope that his extreme condescension towards the Holy See would procure him the most efficacious concurrence on the part of the Court of Rome, not only for the punishment of these detestable criminals, but also to repress for ever their pernicious enterprises. However, this monarch learnt, by the most notorious facts, that the Jesuits themselves had had sufficient credit to close every avenue by which the complaints of his Majesty might reach the knowledge of the

Holy Father; that in the Court of his Holiness there existed a bias directly opposed to the hopes which this monarch had so justly indulged.

V. He learnt, that since the infamous and cruel attempt at assassination on the 3d of September, 1758, the ministers of the Pope had not uttered a single word of disapprobation against those guilty of this horrible villany.

VI. On the contrary, his Majesty was informed that his Holiness's secretary had written a letter to the Nuncio in Spain, which was inserted in the European gazettes, in which he said, "that a nation jealous and libertine was making a cruel war upon a religious body of singular respectability, who render the church the greatest services, whose institution keeps them constantly applied to every sort of exercise beneficial to religion and to the salvation of souls, and entirely devoted to promote, in the highest degree, the glory of God and the salvation of the faithful."

VII. His Majesty knew that the highflown panegyric inserted in this letter had been con-

certed with the general of the Jesuits, to counteract the edicts and the ordinances by which his Majesty had arrested the progress of this infamous conspiracy. In fact, it was not possible to give credit to the contents of this letter without holding the edicts and ordinances of his Majesty to be undeserving of any regard; for nothing in existence could be more opposite and contradictory. And truly, at the court of Rome there was no hesitation in drawing from the contents of this letter conclusions unfavourable to the edicts and ordinances of his Majesty; and the writings published at that time by the Jesuits were not slow in supporting and giving weight to it.

VIII. It came also to his Majesty's knowledge that at the same court the reprinting of the "abridged account," which had served as the basis of the brief for reform granted by Pope Benedict XIV. and for the decree of the cardinal Saldanha, had been considered criminal; that the printer who had reprinted it had been committed to prison, and that the copies found in

his house had been delivered to the General of the Jesuits for the purpose of suppressing their circulation.

IX. The king learned, that when the sentence pronounced at Lisbon, the 12th of January, 1759, against the conspirators, arrived at Rome, the booksellers were prohibited from printing and publishing it; that, at the same time, it was hinted to persons of distinction to be cautious of spreading any news received from the court of Lisbon; that it was even forbidden, with threats of punishment, to persons of lower degree; as though this sentence had come from a barbarous country, where there was no justice; and that every one ought to believe, that intelligence disagreeable to the Jesuits, guilty of the most enormous crimes, was an offence committed against the Apostolic See.

X. His Majesty learned, in short, that with the same views the ministry of Rome caused the most rigorous researches to be made, to discover the authors of publications disagreeable to the Jesuits; and that, at the same time, by a most

strange and scandalous contrast, unrestrained circulation was given to writings published by the Jesuits, outrageous against and dishonouring the glorious name of his Most Faithful Majesty, and blackening the honour and the justice of his faithful ministers with atrocious calumnies. It seemed as though it were wished that these calumnies should pass for authentic and indubitable proofs of the innocence of these criminal ecclesiastics, although they had been condemned in the most solemn and legal manner, after a fair trial, after repeated interrogatories of all their accomplices, by the decision of a sovereign council, composed of three secretaries of state and of ten principal magistrates of the highest reputation, chosen from among the first tribunals of the Court of Lisbon; although they have been declared notorious rebels, insidious enemies to his Most Faithful Majesty, guilty of having excited whole provinces to rebellion, of having usurped their most important commerce; in short, of having been the chiefs and first promoters of the most execrable conspiracy against

the life of the king. Ought not the decision of a sentence, sanctioned by such characters as signed that of the 12th of January, to suffice to undeceive the people as to the illusions attempted to be imposed upon them by vague and rash calumnies, no more worthy of belief than the clamours raised by criminals against the judges who have passed sentence upon them?

XI. Although his Most Faithful Majesty could not recover from the surprise occasioned by this scandalous outrage committed by the political ministry of his Holiness, and openly displayed by so great a number of manifest and decisive facts, nevertheless this monarch, convinced of the purity of the Holy Father's intentions, had taken the resolution to represent to his Holiness how very necessary and indispensable it was for the mutual honour of the pontifical tiara and his Majesty's crown to adjudge the most speedy punishment against so horrible and fatal a crime, and to repress the effects of the strong bias shown by his political ministry, by such means as should appear the most expedient and the

most certain. At the time his Majesty was about to put this resolution in execution there arrived at Lisbon an extraordinary courier, despatched at the beginning of the month of August, 1759, by his eminence the cardinal, secretary of state for the nuncio Acciajuoli. He was the bearer of despatches that might well excite indignation and scandal. Not contented with discovering in them the most marked proofs of the strange passion which possessed him, this cardinal distinctly showed therein that he had composed them purely with the intention to cause an open rupture betwixt the two courts. In a word, these despatches were delivered to his Majesty's secretary of state, and were found to contain the following documents.

XII. The first is a memorial to be presented in his name, and which was really presented by the Nuncio to his Most Faithful Majesty's secretary of state. He gives therein a clear idea of the contents of the other despatches and instructions which he had likewise received. This document shows, by the falsehoods and pretences

with which it is filled, and by the insincere and exceedingly licentious terms in which it is couched, that the Nuncio had received orders to add more and more to his Most Faithful Majesty's just causes of complaint. Undoubtedly it was in expectation that the violent agitations which would be excited by the rupture projected in contempt of the sentiments of this monarch and the paternal intentions of his Holiness would cause the principal object to be lost sight of, that is to say, the wicked attempts made by the members of this Society, and the punishment which they had thereby merited. For, otherwise, would it be likely, seeing the evidence of facts and the delicacy of the circumstances, that the Nuncio would have allowed himself to use such expressions as those with which his memorial is filled, and on which it is indispensable to offer some reflections?

XIII. This prelate pretends to justify the refusal which the Pope was induced to make of the brief for the perpetual commission for the Council of Conscience and the Orders. It is, said

he, a secular tribunal, since there are but few of its officers who are ecclesiastics. But it is notorious at Rome itself, by the Bulls for the foundation and indulgences for the grand masters of the military Orders of this kingdom, and of this tribunal established to exercise the jurisdiction thereof, that this same tribunal is, by its nature and the rights it exerts in daily practice, an ecclesiastical tribunal; that no officer is admitted therein who has not made profession in some one of these Orders; that it exercises an ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as do the archbishop, bishops, and superior prelates of the kingdom, to correct and punish all the secular priests and regulars within its province; that it confirms the prelates vested with jurisdiction nearly episcopal, as the grand priors of Avis and of Palmella; that it fulminates, like the bishops, ecclesiastical censures in cases within its prerogative; that, in short, this tribunal was principally proposed to the Pope by his Most Faithful Majesty under the circumstances of the atrocious crime which is about to be punished, because it is, of all the

ecclesiastical tribunals in the kingdom of Portugal, the one in which there have been officers the most commendable for their knowledge and their virtues.

XIV. The nuncio has the audacity to advance in his memorial, that the Catholic world has never seen a tribunal to which a perpetual jurisdiction has been delegated to cause proceedings to be instituted against ecclesiastics in cases similar to the one in question. Is he then ignorant of what is so public and so certain, that there are five briefs which have been issued in perpetuity for this kingdom alone, and for cases infinitely less serious than the present — the brief granted by the Pope Leo X. of the year 1516, which vested the grand almoner with power to deliver over to the secular arm all the clerks *minores* guilty of theft or forgery ; — that of Pope Pius IV. of the 18th of July, 1562, granting the extension of the first to all other crimes of a serious nature, prohibiting any appeal from the delegated judges ; — that of the same Pope of the 4th of October, 1563, giving orders

to deliver up to the secular judges all the clerks *minores* guilty of trafficking in violation of the laws of Portugal, in order to be punished for the same, even in cases not requiring capital punishment;—that of Pope Gregory XIII. of the 25th of October, 1583, to cause to be given up to secular justice, by the diocesan bishops, all priests and clerks, seculars and regulars, guilty of sedition and of crimes of high treason;—that, lastly, of this Pope, of the same date above given, addressed to the president and commissaries of the Council of Conscience and of the Orders, ordaining them in like manner to deliver up to the secular arm all priests guilty of the crimes of high treason and conspiracy? Neither can any one be ignorant of the existence of many other similar briefs granted to other powers: for example, that of Julius III. to the republic of Genoa, to authorise the secular judges to proceed against any ecclesiastic, even to punishment with death, assisted only by one canon, or some other individual invested with ecclesiastical dignity; those subsequently ob-

tained by the governors of Catalonia, of Roussillon, and of Cerdaigne, from the sovereign pontiffs Leo X., Clement VII., Paul III., and Pius V. If some of these governors were bishops, it was not in that quality, but in that of governors of those provinces, that these powers were granted to them. The tenor even of these briefs proves it. Those of Clement VII. of the 16th of June 1531, and of Pius V. of the 6th of October 1567, grant to a governor the power of proceeding to a definitive sentence exclusively on taking the opinions of two doctors of the royal court.

XV. The nuncio, without having received any power for so doing, takes further upon himself the liberty of giving this strange decision, that to him only belongs the cognizance of crimes similar to the one in question; as if seditious commotions, conspiracies, regicide, and other crimes of high treason were of spiritual matters belonging to the altar and to the Church; as if monarchs, who acknowledge no superiors in temporal concerns, were not au-

thorised in quality of protectors and of fathers to their subjects, by divine law, natural law, and the law of nations, to punish criminals guilty of such atrocious crimes, and by their punishment to maintain peace and public tranquillity in their states, which otherwise could not subsist without a continual miracle? Does then this nuncio not know that he can exercise in the states of Portugal no other jurisdiction than what is permitted him by the concordates, made between the Holy See and this Crown? By exceeding these limits he would transgress against the laudable customs of the kingdom. Never has it been permitted to utter such absurdities since the world has emerged from those ages of ignorance in which the laws of supreme jurisdictions temporal and spiritual were unceasingly blended, to the great prejudice of God's church.

XVI. The nuncio has not hesitated to write, that it was the intention of his Court to send to this kingdom a cardinal legate, to take cognizance of this important affair himself, or to place

it under the cognizance of the nuncio, or of an assembly of ecclesiastical persons. Did he then imagine that there existed in this kingdom neither monarchy, nor a monarch independent of a superior in temporal affairs? Did he think there existed no tribunals, no ministers of justice? Such an absurdity is so palpably striking, that it needs not more ample refutation.

XVII. In short, this nuncio discovers the true object of the instructions which he had received. The king, by his letter of the 20th of April preceding, had apprised the Pope of the resolution he had formed to drive the Jesuits out of his kingdom and domains. In order to divert him from his purpose, the nuncio advances this absurdity — that the king should expect from the progressive reform of this society the safety of his royal person, and the public quiet of his faithful subjects (whose protection is nevertheless essentially connected with the sovereign power). Is there then any one who can be ignorant that this reform has produced no other effect than the infamous falsehood spread

through all Europe against his Most Faithful Majesty, and the horrible attempt made on the 3rd of September, 1758? The extravagance of such an idea is so evident that it would be useless to dwell longer upon it.

XVIII. The other despatches annexed to this memorial of the nuncio were all directed in the same spirit and with the same views. It is sufficient to read them, to be convinced of this.

XIX. The second of these despatches contains, under the date of the 2nd of August, 1759, an order, in form of a brief, addressed to the president and commissaries of the Council of Conscience and of the Orders, permitting them to deliver up the criminal Jesuits to the secular arm.

XX. The mere reading of this brief will make it apparent, that it was drawn up with intentions equally sinister with the nuncio's memorial, and in terms evidently contradictory and incompatible, as well with the king's letter of the 20th of April of the same year, as with

the supplication of his Most Faithful Majesty's attorney-general, which was annexed to the said letter. In fact, the king and his attorney-general had required a brief of unlimited and perpetual consent necessary to establish a permanent security, and that granted was only a brief, limited and restricted to the sole case which occurred. Such a brief not only does not satisfy the king's letter, but is formally contrary to the other briefs which the Holy See is in the habit of granting in similar cases, at the requisition of crowned heads and other sovereigns. It is by no means conformable with the custom, which justice and decency have invariably established, in the grant of favours conferred at the solicitation of sovereign princes. It has been drawn up in an obreptitious, surreptitious, clandestine form, and with an impenetrable mysteriousness. The knowledge of it was withheld from his Most Faithful Majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the Court of Rome, in order that he might not be able to make any representations on the subject to his Holiness, nor make it ap-

pear to him how contrary this brief was to the requisitions, and even to the honour, of his Most Faithful Majesty; by which proceeding, this monarch has been worse treated than a simple individual, who would not consent to receive the grant of a favour which would be prejudicial to him.

XXI. The third of these despatches contained a letter from his Holiness, dated on the same day (the 2nd of August), in answer to one which the king had written to the Pope the 20th of April of the same year, to require of his Holiness the brief in question. The writer of this letter, speaking of the contradictory and incompatible brief sent in lieu of what the king had required, does not hesitate to say, "that by this brief the faculty required was granted to his Majesty, notwithstanding its being of a most extraordinary nature." After which, by a most palpable inconsistency, the strongest and most pressing solicitations are made in favour of the Jesuits who were prisoners, declared to be notorious and convicted accomplices of the exe-

crable attempt of the 3d of September, 1758. The writer of this letter has even gone so far as to put in the sacred mouth of his Holiness these strange and inconsiderate words: "That his Holiness does not believe he does anything which is not strictly to the purpose, and that he does not advise the king to take a step derogatory to his honour; that in addressing the most earnest solicitations to him to permit the Jesuits to remain unpunished, his Holiness conceives that he conforms himself to the inclinations of his Majesty's magnanimous heart; that his Holiness even thinks that this prince is greatly disposed to give the world a signal proof of his royal goodness by taking, in condescension to the intercession of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the resolution of granting their lives to ministers of the sacred altars, who, the more they were guilty, the more they would be worthy of commiseration; that, in short, his Holiness would derive infinite consolation in learning that this new horror of publicly punishing men devoted to God would be dispensed with."

XXII. These words show clearly that passion has so entirely blinded the writer of this letter, that it has prevented him from reflecting that he was writing under the respectable name of his Holiness; that the style in which he made him speak was contrary to all decency, and could serve no other purpose than to manifest the grovelling sentiments of an inferior writer; that his Most Faithful Majesty could not without grievously wounding his conscience, without dishonouring his royal authority, without exposing himself, and putting in peril the majesty of the throne, his sovereign authority, and that of all other monarchies, suffer so detestable a crime to go unpunished. How could the writer of this letter assert that the effusion of the blood of priests guilty of atrocious crimes was a novelty? Is it not a circumstance which happens very frequently in all the Catholic states of Europe, and even at Rome itself, in cases of a far less serious nature, and less fatal than the abominable regicide of the 3d of September, 1758? The hand of the general of the Jesuits discovers

itself here in spite of himself. The motive which induces him to make such great efforts to succeed in withdrawing his colleagues from the infliction of capital punishment, is not merely to spare the few years they might yet have to live; he is, above all, desirous of procuring their escape from the scaffold, with the view of furnishing his society in future times with a negative argument to contradict the truth so notorious at this present time, that they are the contrivers of an abominable regicide. This is an artifice habitual to the Jesuits in all similar cases, and history furnishes us with but too many proofs of it.

XXIII. The fourth of the despatches has evidently been drawn up in the same spirit as the preceding one. It is a second letter, under the name of the holy Father, dated the same day, the 2d of August, 1759. As it is written by the same hand, so has it been dictated by the same prejudice, without any attempt to disguise it. The mask has in this been removed by the disgusting praises with which the author loads

the Jesuits, and by the earnest solicitations which he puts into the Pope's mouth in their behalf in so critical a juncture. He was not aware that the terms in which this letter is written are by no means suitable to a pontifical letter. Instead of answering the king's letter of the 20th of April, he has had recourse only to evasive measures.

XXIV. His Most Faithful Majesty had declared in his letter to the Pope that he had absolutely made up his mind to expel the Jesuits. It was an object of pure economy of the internal government of his kingdom,—government so intimately connected with the persons of sovereigns, that no one of them can have the complaisance to admit of any rules in this respect from any foreign power whatsoever. Yet the writer of the letter under consideration, from the beginning to the end, takes it for granted that the king of Portugal consented that the expulsion of the religious should be referred to the decision of his Holiness.

XXV. In consequence of this assumption, he

pathetically exhorts his Most Faithful Majesty to preserve the Jesuits in his kingdoms and domains; and offers, as a powerful motive to induce him to adopt this resolution, the amendment which is to be produced in them by the renewal of the reform ordained by Pope Benedict XIV. Nothing could be more unreasonable, especially when after his Majesty, by the letter signed by the royal hand, had particularly pointed out to the Pope that, for more than a century, the apostolic Bulls and the laws of the kingdom had produced no other effect on the Jesuits, than to incite them to rebellions, to usurpations of entire provinces, to the unheard-of and intolerable scandals with which they have filled this kingdom and all its dependencies; that they had no other effect than to consummate their hardness of heart, to increase incessantly their inconceivable pride, which, nourished by indulgence, has precipitated them into the most horrible excesses — has induced them to spread through all Europe falsehoods and atrocious scandal against his Most Faithful Majesty, and,

in short, to work themselves up to the horrid attempt of the 3d of September, 1758, because they looked upon it as the only means remaining by which they might put a stop to the continuation of the reform. But who is there that does not know, that they have made the most rash efforts, at first to cause it to be believed that the project of this reform was founded upon no just motive whatever, and afterwards entirely to prevent its taking effect? Was not this the end to which tended every step they have taken before and after the famous memorial which the general of this society presented to his Holiness on the 31st of July, 1758. It is then evident that they are not susceptible of reformation, and that to require of the king that, upon so fruitless a hope, he should preserve in his kingdoms and domains those religious, manifestly guilty of the most horrible plot, is to wish the sacrifice of his royal person, and of the public tranquillity of all his faithful subjects; it is to propose to throw his kingdoms into trouble and confusion, and finally into inevitable ruin.

XXVI. The writer of this pretended letter from the Pope gives, as a second motive which should induce the king to desist from expelling the Jesuits, " that it is never admissible to confound the innocent with the guilty, and to make those suffer the punishment which the others have merited; that in so numerous a body, which makes profession of an institution of the greatest perfection, there must necessarily be found a great number of guiltless persons." These words have visibly a tendency to cause the crimes of the Jesuits to be looked upon merely as the delinquency of some individuals, and to promote the belief that the society has not participated therein.

XXVII. But how could such an answer be made to the king's letter of the 20th of April, 1759, in which he explained himself in terms full of energy like these? — " It is notorious that the regimen or government of these religious is absolutely incorrigible ; that corruption has spread through the whole society; that the remissness of discipline has produced in its chiefs

and among its members detestable vices, which, estranging them entirely from their holy institutions, and the examples of their blessed founder, has given them up to maxims destructive of all civil society, and of all Christian union. This society is in that respect very different from other religious orders, in which, if anything disorderly be introduced, it is only the errors of a few individuals, which does not prevent regularity from being adhered to by the multitude.

"In these circumstances, convinced of this principle, that sovereigns are not at liberty to make an arbitrary use of their supreme authority; that they are bound to exert it to prevent their states and their people from being exposed to troubles and dangers, even were they of less magnitude than those in question; I cannot allow myself to dispense with separating from my good and faithful subjects, a society whose existence has been shown by so many proofs, equally fatal and decisive, to be incompatible with that peace and public tranquillity, in which both natural and divine law compel me to preserve those whom

Providence has placed under my protection. This it is which makes me determine to cause these religious, without delay, to quit my states, into which the kings my predecessors had admitted them, to edify and not to corrupt," &c.

XXVIII. Such are the reasons for which his Most Faithful Majesty has not caused each individual of this society to be proceeded against: it is because the object is not merely confined, as they would have it believed to the crimes of single individuals. The proceedings ordered by his Majesty had for object the whole society, because its whole body was entirely perverted in his kingdoms and domains, because the perverseness of the whole society is evident and notorious, in fact and deed, to all civilised nations.

XXIX. It is notorious in fact, since it is impossible not to perceive that the wicked attempts detailed in his Most Faithful Majesty's letter, and proved during more than a century of deplorable events could not be the work of a single individual, nor even of many, unless they had been assisted and supported by the whole society.

Indeed, without the strength resulting from the union and co-operation of the whole society, could they have given authority to the system which has caused such large provinces in America to revolt, and which has maintained them so long in their rebellion? Without the union and co-operation of the whole society, would there have been seen such a general and such an obstinate resistance made to that multitude of bulls and royal laws, published for more than a century, to establish obedience among the Indians, and to civilise them? Without the union and co-operation of the society, would it have been practicable to ruin and discredit all the governors and magistrates who were desirous of enforcing the execution of these Bulls and these laws? Without the union, and the co-operation of the whole society, could means have been found to raise and maintain such numerous armies of these Indians, and to form so powerful a league, that it has cost his Majesty several millions of cruzados merely to resist them? Without the union and co-operation of the society, would they have been able to spread

through all Europe those calumnies, to form those conspiracies destined to prevent the reform ordained by Pope Benedict XIV., and to sacrifice the sovereign whose interest it was to enforce its execution? Without the union and co-operation of the society, would they have been able to frame and plot so many intrigues at the court of Rome, to shut up every avenue by which intelligence might be given to his Holiness of these manifest truths, and to multiply unpleasant incidents of a nature to cause a rupture between the two courts? When his Majesty demanded the reform of the society, who then was it that spread a torrent of calumnies against this monarch, as well at the court of Rome, as at the other courts in Europe? Was all this done by a few individuals? Was it not the act of the whole society? Who presented to the pope the memorial of the 31st of July, 1758, to obtain the revocation of the edict of reform, and to threaten his Most Faithful Majesty with the wicked attempt which was put in execution so shortly after? Were they individuals? Was it not the general, the chief

even of this pernicious society? And this brief for reformation, against whom has it been granted? Is it against a few individuals merely? Is it not against the whole Society of Jesuits of the kingdom of Portugal and its dependencies?

XXX. The perverseness of the entire body of the society is no less notorious than undeniable. Does there exist any one, at the present day, who can be ignorant that an individual of this society, be he who he may, cannot do, within or without, a single act of any consequence, unless he has an order or permission so to do from the superiors, on pain of being expelled without hope of pardon, or of undergoing some other punishment still more to be dreaded? After this, what man of good sense can ever permit himself to be persuaded that such an immense number of horrible crimes, so unceasing, so manifest, so public as these just spoken of, can have been committed by individuals, without the concurrence and co-operation of the whole society? Even were one to be disposed to form doubts, they could not maintain

themselves against these certain and notorious facts, that it is the entire society which reaps the fruits and the benefits produced by all these crimes; that the society, far from punishing the individuals who have from time to time committed them, maintains with ardour and protects with its whole influence their persons and their crimes. To be convinced of this, it will suffice to recollect what has happened to the most eminent and the most pious cardinal, John Martin Silices, archbishop of Toledo, and to so many other prelates equally respectable by their piety and enlightened minds; such as Melchior Cano; Don Jeronimo de la Nuza; Don Juan de Palafox; Don Bernardo de Cardẽnas; Don Felipe Pardo, archbishop of Manilla; the holy martyr Juan Batista, and the companions of his glorious martyrdom; the pious and learned priest Ario Montanus; the Cardinal de Tournon, &c. Let us add thereto some generals and some great men even of this very society; such as Francisco de Borgia, Mutio Vitelleschi,

Tirco Gonzales, Juan de Mariana, after divine grace had touched his heart, and several others. These have all of them felt the resentment of the Society, because they all cried aloud for prompt remedies to be applied to the disease with which they saw, already in their days, that the entire Society, and not merely a small part of it, was attacked. They foresaw, and foretold with grief, that so great and so general a corruption could not fail to produce, in after times, crimes of the most fatal tendency to the Church and to states; and even wicked attempts, such as that of which Portugal has just experienced the horrors.

XXXI. The more to incense his Most Faithful Majesty, the writer of the instructions addressed to the nuncio had recommended him to deliver with his own hands, to the King, the obreptitious, surreptitious, and indecent brief, of which we have been speaking. M. Acciajuoli effectively pressed his solicitations with extreme importunity and inconsiderateness, to prevail upon his Majesty to receive this brief, in an

audience which he had required, solely for the purpose of deception.

XXXII. With this view, he at first maintained that it was his duty to deliver to his Most Faithful Majesty with his own hands the inadmissible brief, together with the letters which accompanied it, without previously transmitting copies thereof, as customary, to the secretary of state, Dom Luiz da Cunha.

This minister having shown him that he could not demand an audience of the King his master without having previously given in copies of the despatches he wished to present to his Majesty, the nuncio was obliged at last to give them. A few days afterwards, the 7th of September, the secretary of state wrote to him, on the part of the king, in the most cautious terms. He intimated to him, that his Majesty granted him an audience to deliver him his Holiness's letters, but that his Majesty required that he should suspend the delivery of the brief until his Majesty had made his representations on the subject to his Holiness. This prelate

then took the strange liberty to reply of his own accord, by the memorial, in form of a letter, of which we have spoken above. He adopted a high tone, to persuade this monarch that he was obliged to receive this brief, under the singular pretext which may be read in his letter to the secretary of state of the 6th of September 1759. This document discloses all the venom of the instructions which the nuncio had received.

XXXIV. These proceedings could not yet shake the firm reliance which his Most Faithful Majesty had in the pure and paternal intentions of his Holiness.

XXXV. His Majesty was even desirous of overlooking the absurdities contained in the nuncio's memorial, and in the copies of the letters of which we have been speaking, under the pretext that the originals had not been seen by him. In order to leave it to his Holiness's wisdom to put an end to similar inconveniences, to avoid as much as possible all discussions on points so disagreeable and so wanting in decency, his Majesty caused two answers to his Holiness's

despatches, couched in the most energetic language, to be forwarded to Rome.

XXXVI. The first was a letter which his Majesty directed to be written to the nuncio, on the 10th of September, by his secretary of state, Dom Luiz da Cunha, to declare to him that his Majesty would not suffer him to present him the brief sent from Rome, because his Majesty looked upon it as not to be tolerated, and as uncivil, obreptitious, surreptitious, and contrary to the true meaning of his Holiness; that his Majesty readily consented to receive the Holy Father's letters, with submission equal to his filial respect, provided they were not annexed to the brief; furthermore, that his secretary of state would answer the nuncio's memorial as soon as his Majesty should order him so to do.

XXXVII. The second answer was a memorial which his Most Faithful Majesty caused to be sent, on the 15th of the same month of September, to his minister plenipotentiary at Rome, with orders to present it to his Holiness.

XXXVIII. The mere reading of this me

morial will suffice to show that the King, always full of respect and attention towards the Holy Father, did, in circumstances of so very unpleasant a nature, every thing that the critical and pressing conjuncture permitted him to do, to spare his Holiness whatever might grieve his paternal heart.

XXXIX. This memorial does not enter into any detail of the decisive and public proofs which the political ministry of the Court of Rome had given of its partiality, as has been shown above. The numerous offensive steps taken by the nuncio at Lisbon, to gain the means of presenting the insulting despatches which have been spoken of above, were lightly touched upon: it went no further than to represent to his Holiness, in a respectful manner, the evident proofs which demonstrated the obreption, surreption, and the inadmissibility of the brief, to show how much reason the King had to be displeased with the irregular conduct which the nuncio had maintained at his court, and with the liberty and haughty air he had

assumed; to complain, in short, of the public scandal which some other of his Holiness's ministers had excited, as well in Portugal as in all Europe, by conniving at and co-operating in the most unequivocal manner with the attacks made on all good principles, and on the honour of his Holiness, and of his Most Faithful Majesty, at the court of the head of the Catholic Church; the black and the wicked attempts which the regimen and the whole body of the Society (pretended of Jesus) had committed in the kingdom of Portugal and its dependencies, and the vile calumnies which they had spread, and which they do not yet cease to spread, through all Europe.

XL. The memorial concludes by claiming, on the part of his Most Faithful Majesty, from the unerring justice, apostolic prudence, and paternal feelings of his Holiness, to obtain — 1st. Such a reparation, and so authenticated, as shall immediately remove the causes of his Majesty's complaints, and the public scandal excited by the grievances which have given rise to them.

2nd. That his Holiness may be pleased to dissipate and annihilate the obstacles which have hitherto shut up all the avenues of the pontifical throne to truths notorious not only to the kingdom of Portugal, but to all the four quarters of the globe. 3rd. That he be pleased to cause his brief of consent to be expressed in civil and appropriate terms, such as are in general use, and in which the other briefs granted by the Court of Rome in similar cases have been drawn up; of which copies were offered to be given.

XLI. Representations so forcible, by the justice of the complaints, by the indispensable necessity of granting the demands made therein, caused so great a clamour among the people, that the Holy Father's ministers could not entirely keep it from the knowledge of his Holiness. The report which they were under the necessity of making to him thereon, although very weak and imperfect, made him take the determination to appoint his eminence the Cardinal Calvachini to a conference with the minister

plenipotentiary of his Most Faithful Majesty. The probity and justice of his eminency encouraged hopes for the success of his Majesty's representations, and induced a belief that it would not be necessary to publish the detailed explanations which have been given above.

XLII. But almost immediately afterwards, the partiality of the political ministry of hi Holiness regained its influence. On the 28th of November of the same year 1759, the cardinal secretary of state sent to the minister plenipotentiary of his Most Faithful Majesty at the court of Rome a most unexpected and most unreasonable declaration. This cardinal made it apparent therein, in a most striking manner, that the essential and principal object which he continually proposed to himself was to irritate his Most Faithful Majesty more and more by the serious attacks made upon his honour, in order to compel this monarch to renounce the negotiation just commenced, which his said eminence dreaded as the means by which his Holiness might at last be made acquainted with the

facts, and the convincing proofs relating to them, which have been detailed above. By continuing to act upon this seditious plan, the minister proceeded so far as to declare, by this very act, a formal rupture with his Most Faithful Majesty, in the name of his Holiness.

XLIII. In this declaration, this cardinal argues in a manner at perfect variance with the received notions of reason and good sense, the principles of divine right, the laws of nature and of nations, the decision of all the briefs which have issued from the Holy See on similar occasions; and all this to colour the refusal of the brief for perpetual consent to sanction the surrender to the secular arm, of criminals guilty of enormous crimes, such as those in question. He approves of the irregular attempts made by the nuncio at Lisbon, to take by surprise, and thus to indispose his Most Faithful Majesty. He allows himself even to reproach his Majesty's minister plenipotentiary, although this minister, to avoid every motive of quarrel, had borne patiently all the sallies of this cardinal's passion:

In short, he at last drops the mask, by manifesting the object he proposes to himself in the declaration of war which he makes against his Most Faithful Majesty. "As to what relates," says he, "to the religious of the Society of Jesus, and the resolutions taken and partly carried into effect against them, by his Most Faithful Majesty, his Holiness has already sufficiently expressed his *invariable* sentiments in the letter which he wrote to the King, the contents of which were communicated to his Majesty at the beginning of the month of September last, as has been certified by the secretary of state, Dom Luiz da Cunha, by his note of the 6th of the same month. The sentiments of the Pope are immutable upon this point, because they are founded in justice, which will not permit that the innocent be confounded with the guilty, nor that the punishment merited *perhaps* by some individuals, for whose chastisement his Holiness has already granted all the necessary permissions, should be followed up by the disgrace and extinction of the whole Society.

This society professes an institution approved and honoured by the esteem of the sovereign pontiffs, predecessors of his Holiness; it is useful to the Catholic Church; it enjoys the protection of the Holy See, and that of his Holiness. The immutability of the sentiments of the holy Father upon this point is further founded on the understanding which the two courts came to when his Most Faithful Majesty proposed the case to Pope Benedict XIV. of blessed memory, and this Pope adopted the measure of appointing an apostolic visitor" &c.

XLIV. Such is the regard evinced at Rome for a monarch assassinated in the midst of his own court, by the artifices of a society of religious men consecrated to God by their holy institution. They began by mocking and reviling him during the space of a year and a half in the very court of the head of the Catholic Church, where he has the goodness to demand justice for this execrable crime; and instead of solemn reparation, which the most powerful motives give him a right to expect, the political ministry of

this Court concludes by making a seditious declaration to this monarch, in which, expressions full of irreverence and haughtiness are employed, and in which, arrogance is carried so far as to assume the right of interfering in the constitutional government of the kingdom of Portugal, by seeking to re-establish the Jesuits, after their expulsion by the laws of his Most Faithful Majesty. It has even the boldness to pass censure upon the incorruptible justice of this monarch. This, however, does not yet satisfy the Roman ministry; it even goes so far as formally to declare hostilities against this religious sovereign. For, is it possible to give any other meaning to this proud and arrogant declaration, *That the Court of Rome will always remain immutable in this sentiment*, (that the Jesuits should be preserved in Portugal,) that is to say, in the disposition to trouble the constitutional government which appertains solely to his Most Faithful Majesty in his kingdom, to determine respecting the continuance therein, or removal thence, of persons according to the pleasure of this court? Can

any other meaning be attached to this second declaration—that the same Court has taken and will always take under its protection these abominable religious, whose regimen has plotted the execrable attempt of the 3rd of September, 1759, and has not ceased from that time to circulate the most horrible and the most seditious calumnies?

XLV. There cannot, then, be a more formal declaration of hostilities, than what has been made by the political ministry of the Pope to his Most Faithful Majesty. It has been shown how it was commenced, by the insulting circumstances which emanated from that court during a year and a half; that it has been continued by that multitude of writings sent successively to the court of this monarch, conceived in forms and in terms which would scarcely have been tolerated by delegates of Bologna or of Ferrara; that it has been strengthened by expressions attacking the independence of the temporal and constitutional government of his Most Faithful Majesty, tending to degrade him beneath that authority, in the exercise of which, among his

household, the mere father of a family would never suffer strangers to disturb him. It is consummated, in short, by the formal declaration, that the Court of Rome will always remain the protector of these religious, rebels, assassins, and public enemies of his Most Faithful Majesty, of his kingdoms, and of his subjects; of these religious, juridically convicted of crime, by proofs clear, evident, superabundant, and decided upon by a tribunal the most numerous, the most respectable, and the most fully authorised, which has ever been constituted in the Court of Lisbon; of these religious, in short, proscribed in the most solemn manner by a law of the Most Faithful King himself. Will sound policy permit it to be doubted, whether a prince is to be considered to have declared war formally against another prince, when he makes attempts upon his honour and upon his reputation — when he declares to him publicly that he espouses the cause of his most mortal enemies? This is the conduct which the political ministry of the Court of Rome has not feared to adopt.

XLVI. The zeal and prudence of his Most Faithful Majesty's minister plenipotentiary prompted him to take every care possible to remove the difficulties which the secretary of state of his Holiness sought to multiply, in a negotiation, which naturally should have had none. With this view he took upon himself to pass the limits of his instructions. Before he gave his court the least information of the declaration of the 28th of November, he replied to it on the 4th of December, proposing the means of facilitating the grant of the brief of perpetual consent, and he deferred entering into explanations on all other points, till he should have received fresh orders from his court.

XLVII. But although he had confined himself to touch upon the sole point relating to the grant of the brief, the cardinal secretary thought proper to wander from it in another declaration which he sent him in answer, the 12th of the same month of December. The minister plenipotentiary replied by demanding a precise and categorical answer on the subject of the brief,

and declining to go into any other explanations with a prelate whose undisguised passion had rendered him incapable of managing this negotiation in such delicate circumstances.

XLVIII. The Portuguese minister thought that his Holiness had entered into his views; for, on the day following, the 14th of December, he had the satisfaction to receive from the hands of Cardinal Calvachini the rough draught of a new brief of consent. This second brief was not, it is true, more admissible than the former, but it showed that his Holiness was at last convinced of the indispensable necessity there was for his giving some satisfaction to a sovereign so grievously offended; and seeing that the cardinal secretary of state was excluded, as he appeared to be, from a negotiation for which his excessive partiality rendered him so unfit, there was every reason to hope that, in the end, the brief might be obtained in the wished-for form.

XLIX. In this confidence, this minister transmitted to Cardinal Calvachini, on the 20th

and 21st of December, three memorials containing the corrections requisite to be made in the second rough draught of the brief, and the reasons which demonstrated the justice and the necessity of these corrections.

L. Measures were soon taken to destroy the hope M. d'Almada had fondly conceived, by giving him to understand that the matter was by no means so near the point of concession. Urged by orders from his court to transmit a final answer from that of Rome, having reason to fear that the delay might be imputed to him, he wrote a note to cardinal Torregiani, solely to request he might be supplied with post horses for the courier he was desirous to send off to Lisbon, and without saying a word of the negotiation entered upon with Cardinal Calvachini.

LI. How astonished was this minister, to learn by the answer made to his note by the cardinal secretary of state, that he had been re-appointed to, or rather that he had again taken into his own hands, the negotiation which had been intrusted to Cardinal Calvachini. In

fact, with his answer under date of the 26th of December, relating to the post horses, Cardinal Torregiani sent, at the same time, a new rough draught of a Brief, framed precisely in the same terms as that which he had received from Cardinal Calvachini.

LII. This matter therefore relapsed into the same state in which it was before it passed into the hands of his Eminency last named, and there was no longer any room to hope that his Most Faithful Majesty would obtain the reparation due to his royal authority, since the declaration of hostilities made by the political administration of his Holiness. Furthermore, as the last draught of the Brief was conceived, as well as the first, in terms widely different from the two briefs granted for the kingdom of Portugal by Pope Gregory XIII., and that which should have served as the basis of the amplification required was likewise suppressed in it, it resulted therefrom, that this declaration of hostilities in the form and expressions reported above, subsisted in its whole extent.

Postscription.

LIII. His Most Faithful Majesty, by a letter written with his own hand to the Holy Father, sealed with the great seal of his Chancery, under date of the 2nd of November 1759, communicated to his Holiness, as a fact within his own personal knowledge, the resignation, given in his presence, of the Archbishop of Bahia, Dom Jozé Botelho de Mattos; that, upon this vacation, he had named to this church, which is in the royal gift, Dom Manoel de Santa Ignez, bishop of Angola. The following are the precise terms of the letter: "The archbishopric of Bahia, in the patronage of my crown, being vacant by the resignation made into the hands of your Holiness, by my permission, by Dom Jozé de Mattos, I name and present to your Holiness, for the said archbishopric, Dom Manoel de Santa Ignez, bishop of Angola," &c.

LIV. While the archbishop so named was soliciting the grant of his Bulls, there appeared at Rome an Amsterdam Gazette, in which, without the least foundation, was imputed to the

first archbishop, Dom Jozé Botelho de Mattos the injurious fact that he was a rebel to the laws of his Majesty, and an abettor of the expelled Jesuits.

LV. This false news, supported by persons who are not known to the Court of Lisbon, appeared a sufficient reason to the administration of his Holiness to suspend the despatching of the Bulls for Dom Manoel de Santa Ignez. The reason assigned for this suspension was the defect of the justificatory proofs of the resignation of Dom Jozé Botelho de Mattos. Such a declaration made to the King's minister plenipotentiary, puts the finishing stroke to all the proofs already produced, that it was determined upon to force his Majesty to an open rupture.

LVI. But was it necessary, in order to compel him thereto, that the ministry of a sovereign pontiff should proceed to such excesses? This procedure has violated the wise dispositions of the canon law, which enact that implicit faith shall be given to the words of sovereign princes, when they affirm facts, as being within their personal

knowledge. It has appeared to despise the testimony of his Most Faithful Majesty, who, addressing himself to the Holy Father, has affirmed, in the most authentic manner, the resignation in question; his consent to this resignation, and the nomination of an individual to replace him who had resigned. It has thus taken upon itself the criminal licence of offending the honour, and of trampling under foot the sacred rights of royal majesty. It has declared that, to make the certainty of a fact indubitable, it does not suffice to have the august word of a King solemnly attesting the same, but that it made the truth of it depend on other proofs infinitely less respectable.

LVII. By such striking acts, this ministry have shown how far they were desirous of breaking with his Majesty. It requires little reflection to discover easily, whence proceeds the spirit of discord which inspires and animates it. Its steps reveal too sensibly the causes which put it in motion, and the voluntary and deliberate excesses it has committed are such, as, whatever

efforts are made to moderate the pen, it is impossible to avoid characterising them.

The Pope having refused to give audience to M. d'Almada, this manifesto was delivered to the Cardinal Orsini, together with a note containing the reasons for the expulsion of the papal Nuncio from Portugal.

In this note, his Most Faithful Majesty complained of various rash and seditious proceedings of the Cardinal Acciajuoli, and of the daily trespasses which he committed against the government of his Most Faithful Majesty, adding that his secret proceedings had been at length followed by public insults, and an avowed contempt for the authority and dignity of his Majesty. It also stated that on the marriage of the Infante Pedro with the Princess of Brazil, on the 6th of June, 1760, his Majesty had ordered a general illumination for three nights, an order with which, as a mark of respect for his Majesty's authority, all his people and the foreign ambassadors readily complied. But that the Nuncio,

under pretence of not having received official intimation of the marriage, which was not customary, had neglected to pay that mark of respect, and had moreover, during the three nights of the illumination, so completely closed the windows of his palace that not a candle was to be seen from without. With this last affront the King was much incensed, and determined no longer to submit to the insolence of the Nuncio. Accordingly, on the 17th of the same month, orders were received by his Eminence from Dom Luiz da Cunha, in the name of his Majesty, commanding him to quit Lisbon within the hour, and the Portuguese territory within four days, intimating at the same time that the royal boats were in attendance for his conveyance, and that a sufficient military escort would conduct him as far as the frontier.*

This vigorous proceeding was no sooner known at Rome, than the Pope refused to hold any further intercourse with Almada; and a rupture between the two courts having been publicly

* See Appendix at the end of this chapter.

declared to exist, on the 2nd of July all the subjects of Portugal were ordered to leave Rome immediately.

The causes of this rupture having been so fully detailed in the Manifesto already given, it is needless to offer any further arguments in support of the policy which Pombal adopted on this occasion. The Pope had most arbitrarily and unconstitutionally attempted to interfere with the royal authority, and Pombal did that which every patriotic minister is bound to do, if he value the liberty and independence of his country. He resolved, at whatever hazard, never to acknowledge the right of any foreign power to interfere with the domestic policy of Portugal. And that he was right in this respect, even his bitterest enemies must allow; for such vain pretensions as that of inherent right in the Pope of Rome to interfere with the civil governments of Europe, only tend to degrade the real dignity of the Vicar of Christ in the eyes of the Christian world. Besides, the schisms which such conduct must inevitably encourage, deviate into licen-

tiousness, till at length, each party setting up for himself as the head of his own church, not only all proper ecclesiastical authority is destroyed, but with it all that is Christian and scriptural.

It appears throughout these altercations that the great cause of the long pending dispute between the two courts was the conduct of the Cardinal Torregiani. This papal minister suffered his own private animosities and peculiar opinions, to master every feeling of decency and prudence, guided by which, he might have conciliated the courts of Europe, at this period so critical for the power of the Roman church. The sentiments of the Cardinal Acciajuoli respecting Dom Joseph and his minister were expressed, in the following terms, in a private letter written from Vienna, at the period of the cardinal's return to Italy, after his expulsion from Lisbon.

"A letter from Marshal Botta, dated from Florence, relates that he had been assured by the Nuncio that the Cardinal Acciajuoli, when he passed through Florence, had declared his opinion

that the King our sovereign was a most perfect monarch, full of religious sentiments, and of devotion to the church; and that the Count d'Oeyras was a great minister of true piety and religion. That the Jesuits were undoubtedly the authors of the attempted assassination of his Majesty Dom Joseph; and if he (Acciajuoli) had had the misfortune to displease the Court of Portugal in these latter events of his residence, it was for having executed the orders of Cardinal Torregiani. And a letter from Milan relates that Acciajuoli had expressed the same sentiments in Rome, a circumstance which has excited some considerable sensation in that city."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X.

Page 284. — A despatch from Lord Kinnoul, dated April 14th, 1760, enlightens us respecting the intrigues of this Nuncio. "The French ambassador, M. de Merle, as well as the Nuncio, do not dissemble their discontent, and they speak without reserve in disrespectful terms of the person of the Count d'Oeyras."

On the 17th of June, 1760, Senhor Luiz de Mendonça, lieutenant-governor of Belem Castle, waited on the Nuncio, and told his Eminence that he had the King's orders to attend him to Aldea Galega. The Nuncio remonstrated, but in vain; and in three hours set forward on his journey. The populace were so enraged at the insult offered to the King, that they attempted to set fire to the Nuncio's house.

Various persons were banished from Court at this period for intriguing with the Nuncio, or holding secret correspondence with the Jesuits. The Viscount de Ponte de Lima was ordered to retire to Oporto, and the Count de San Lorenço to Miranda. On the 21st of July, 1760, "Dom Antonio and Dom José were, by the King's order, removed from their house at Palhavâo under a strong guard, and conducted to a convent be-

yond Coimbra, where they are to remain. Dom José was Grand Inquisitor. M. de Motta and the Count d'Oeyras had always been averse to raising these bastards to the rank of princes of the blood — but the King's goodness to them had no bounds. The princes were discovered to be in secret correspondence with the late Nuncio." The other brother, the Archbishop of Braga, was not implicated in the disgrace.

Repeated assurances were given at this and other periods by Mr. Hay and Lord Kinnoul of the generally tranquil state of the country. "I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that notwithstanding the idle stories I see in our public papers, and which are entirely without foundation, every thing here is in the utmost tranquillity." And yet from these sources have the actions of Pombal been described. Again: "The strange reports, which rebound hither from other countries, make it necessary for me to repeat to you that every thing here is at present in a state of perfect tranquillity."

And a circumstance which was much commented upon at the time, is thus described by Mr. Hay in his despatch, dated January 24th, 1761. "As I know false reports are often spread relating to what passes in this country, I take the liberty to mention an incident that happened yesterday, which at first alarmed the merchants; but, as it has been related to me, is quite of a private nature. The house of M. de Tremoul, an Italian merchant, was surrounded yesterday morning with soldiers, and his partner, M. Nicolini, who lives in a separate dwelling, was ordered to attend. This at

first sight has the air of a state imprisonment; but by what I learn, is no more than an attention of the Government to the repeated representations of M. Nicolini, setting forth the extravagance of his partner, and some malpractices in regard to bills of exchange, which the Government thought proper to put a stop to." He had forged bills to the amount of 20,000*l.*, and contrived to escape from the country.

CHAPTER XI.

Regulations for the Rebuilding of Lisbon — Board of Commerce abolished — New Junta established — Its Purposes — The Nobility permitted to hold Shares in the Maranhâo and Pará Company — Various Decrees — Civilisation of the Indians — Excellent Means employed by Pombal — Aula do Commercio established — Pernambuco and Paraiba Company formed — Educational Measures — The same adopted at Vienna — Jesuits begin to lose their Influence in that Capital — Lord Kinnoul sent to Lisbon to apologise for the Conduct of Admiral Boscawen — Convents abolished or reformed — Appendix — Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office.

CHAPTER XI.

We now revert to a few of the great reforms that occupied Pombal's attention about this time, and for some years afterwards. The most trifling decree promulgated in the name of Dom Joseph bears the stamp of the minister's presiding genius, whether we look at the grandeur and correctness of conception, or examine the exact and elaborate details by which it is to be carried into execution. I have already given an outline of the measures he employed immediately after the great earthquake, to remedy the evils and ameliorate the sufferings incidental to a physical commotion so calamitous. The most minute orders were given for the examination of the ruins, and the strictest precautions taken to secure to every individual, not only the property

which had been engulfed, but the exact site of land which he had possessed previous to the earthquake; and in order to prevent the substitution of hovels and irregular buildings for the houses and palaces which had been destroyed, a decree was published restraining all persons from erecting buildings not in accordance with a general plan, which Pombal had very carefully prepared. Those whose temerity incited them to disobey this order, had their houses pulled down without the slightest favour or exception.

In various reforms, Pombal was often assisted by the silly conduct of the parties themselves, against whom these reforms were directed. For example, some time after the establishment of the Maranhão and Grand Pará Company in 1755, the deputies of the Board of Commerce, (Meza dos homens de negocio) sought an audience of his Majesty, on which occasion they indulged in the most virulent abuse of, and applied the most violent language to the company, predicting the most fatal consequences to the country, and threatening the most serious disturbances among

the people, which nothing but their own seditious language was likely to create. This insult to the royal authority was resented by an order for the immediate withdrawal of the deputies, followed by a subsequent command for them to retire to various parts of the kingdom at a distance from Lisbon, while a strict and close inquiry into the conduct and practices of the Commercial Board, which was immediately set on foot, proved that the abuses and frauds which had crept into the administration of their affairs, together with the illegal monopolies which they enjoyed, fully justified Pombal in every thing he had done, and accounted for their anger and remonstrances. The Board was consequently abolished by a decree of September 30th, 1756, and Pombal and the Desembagador, Ignacio Ferreira Sonto, were empowered to consolidate a body of statutes for a new Junta do Commercio, which latter was in fact established before the end of the year.

This useful Junta, created for the purpose of animating and protecting commerce throughout

the Portuguese dominions, was composed of a provedor, a secretary, a procurador, six deputies, (four of Lisbon and two from Oporto,) a judge conservator, and a procurador fiscal. The members of this body were necessarily Portuguese born, or naturalised foreigners, and were elected for three years. Their duties were to regulate all affairs connected with commerce, to prevent and punish smuggling, and to grant licences for the opening of retail shops, or to refuse them as they saw fit. They had also delegated to them, the power of visiting and inspecting those already open. This inquisitorial power was granted in order to check the abuses which were practised in the retail trade, such as the sale of smuggled goods, and the possession of two or more shops by individuals: because in the latter case, though the shops might be tenanted ostensibly under different names, it was very frequently the case that the goods belonged to one person, and that person a foreigner. This clause, however, was more especially aimed at the English, as will be seen hereafter, because they carried on the principal

commerce, and engrossed much of the profit of the retail trade. The salary of these officers was small, and was defrayed by an inconsiderable tax on the merchandise that passed through the Custom-house.

Another remarkable feature in the administration of Pombal was the promulgation of a decree, January 5th, 1757, authorising the nobility to purchase and hold shares in the Maranhão and Pará Company, and declaring that, as the object of its establishment was to render the kingdom of Portugal flourishing, it was both just and proper that all persons, however high their rank, should be allowed to contribute to the well-being of the state. Had the nobility of Portugal acted to this day upon the principle of this wise measure, they would not now be suffering the evils of poverty, or the bitter recollections of former grandeur. But they have none to blame. Their own indolence, based on an indomitable pride, has plunged them into difficulties, from which they can only emerge by great self-denial, active administration of, and

personal attendance to, their own affairs. For, however small the income, every Portuguese gentleman thinks it necessary to delegate the management of his property to a subordinate; hence he is frequently ruined, and always plundered; and, by such means, many of the finest estates in the country are actually in ruins, and their owners in poverty.

Shortly after the formation of the Junta of Commerce, the royal silk manufactory was re-established, and life was again given to this almost dormant branch of industry.

To follow the chronological order of the most striking decrees of the government at this period, I may remark that the condition of sacerdotal thraldom to which the disastrous reign of John V. had reduced the country was such, that it was absolutely necessary to issue a decree, asserting the King's prerogative to erect churches in his own dominions without ecclesiastical permission!

It is impossible to pass over without notice, and the expression of great admiration, the

excellent and humane laws that were passed in 1757 and 1758 to civilise the Indians of South America. They deserve the highest praise, and reflect the greatest honour on the humanity and the wisdom of Pombal. They still continue a model for all future attempts at the civilisation of savage nations. The temporal administration assumed by the Jesuits of Pará and Maranhão had been abolished by the decree of the 7th of June, 1755. This decree conferred the government of the several villages upon their respective chiefs. It was now, however, found necessary to amend the law, and to place the jurisdiction of each village in the hands of a *director*, appointed by the governor or captain-general of the province. In this new decree, dated May 3rd, 1757, the most excellent regulations for the well-being of the colony are contained. The first proviso is, that the use of the Portuguese language among the natives is the first and surest means of civilising, gaining their affections, and securing their obedience. It was also enacted that in each village two schools should be established;

one for boys, who were to be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic; another for girls, who, in addition, were taught sewing, spinning, lace making, and other arts suitable to their sex. It was expressly forbidden that they, the Indians, should call themselves, or be called, Negroes; because it was held desirable that they should respect themselves, and feel that they were free men, which, to his honour be it said, Pombal had made them. They were also strictly prohibited from strolling about naked, as they were accustomed to do; the effect, says Pombal in the decree, of barbarity, not of virtue. The cultivation of rice, beans, Indian corn, and cotton, was encouraged; and these indigenous products were enjoined to be exchanged for European manufactures; thus wisely opening a source of commerce and wealth to the country, more appreciable than all the gold mines ever discovered. To such Indians as should raise the greatest quantity of tobacco, rewards and honours were offered; and while the idle were declared to be

the bane of society, encouragements to industry were liberally offered. The directors were ordered to furnish every year a schedule of the lands brought into cultivation (roças) in their different districts, declaring the kinds and quantities of the plantations, with the names of the proprietors; to the end, says the decree, that industry may be rewarded and idleness discountenanced.

It is lastly declared, in this very important document, that agriculture being the foundation on which commerce is based, commerce must decline when agriculture ceases to flourish. "When agriculture flourishes," says Pombal, "the most efficacious means of conducting a kingdom to prosperity is the introduction of manufactures and commerce; since they enrich and civilise the people, and consequently render the state powerful. Commerce essentially consists in the sale or exchange of produce, and in the reciprocal communication of nations: from the first result profit and riches; from the last we acquire humanity and civilisation."..." The

soul of commerce," he adds, "is in the liberty of the people."

In these latter observations, the reader cannot fail to perceive how closely Pombal followed in the path of Sully, who considered that before manufactures could be established, or rather before they ought to be supported, agriculture must be in a flourishing condition. May the opinions of these two great men influence the present statesmen in Portugal, and induce them to alter their narrow policy in commercial matters!*

But it was not to agriculture and commerce alone, to the civilization of the Indians, or to the quiet and prosperity of the country, that Pombal confined his attention. He found time to superintend the rebuilding and embellishment of the city; of which the numerous edifices now existing, and the innumerable decrees which provided for their construction, sufficiently testify.

* This was written in 1841, when the author was in Portugal.

Until the year 1759, there was no institution in the city of Lisbon by means of which a native could obtain a commercial education, and the merchants were consequently compelled to send to Venice and Genoa for efficient clerks. Taking, then, the deficient condition of this branch of education into consideration, Pombal established by a decree on the 19th of May, 1759, the Aula do Commercio for the instruction of pupils in every variety of commercial knowledge, and placed it under the surveillance of the Junta do Commercio. The fruits of this establishment were fully matured and apparent in 1775, when 200 pupils were publicly examined in the presence of the ministers and other public functionaries, and their proficiency in all branches of arithmetic and commercial matters, together with navigation and the sister sciences, did honour to themselves, to the institution, and its founder.

Among other measures brought about at this period was a mercantile association known by the name of the Pernambuco and Paraiba Company; while an impetus was given to industry

at home by the restoration of the woollen manufactories in Beira, which had become almost extinct.

I have already referred to the means of education afforded by Pombal to the native Indians in the South American colonies of Portugal. At home, his exertions deserve more lengthened notice; for, perhaps, no minister of any age or country ever adopted more energetic measures towards the extension of a liberal education among all classes of his countrymen. He endeavoured by every means in his power to excite and cherish a love of science and learning in the country, in order that the weight and influence of the people might grow and increase in proportion with but not faster than the progress of their education. "The cultivation of literary pursuits," he says, "forms the basis of all the sciences, and in their perfection consists the reputation and prosperity of kingdoms."

To carry out these principles, on the 28th of June, 1759, he promulgated a decree lamenting the low ebb to which the arts and sciences had

fallen throughout the kingdom, attributing this to the faulty and pernicious system of instruction adopted by the Jesuits, while they superintended the business of public education—"For," says the decree, "the students, having been led thus for the space of eight or nine years, find themselves in the end bewildered in the mazes of grammar, and totally destitute of all true notions of the Greek and Latin languages."

To promote the study of the Latin, a professor of that language was appointed to give gratuitous instruction in every district in Lisbon; and that every facility might be afforded for its acquisition, the grammar of Manoel Alvarez was expressly forbidden, "as one which contributes to render the acquirement of the Latin language difficult." The grammar and commentaries of Antonio Franco, those of João Nunez Freire and of José Soares, were also prohibited; while that of Madureira was distinctly condemned as "more elaborate and more useless." Those which were directed to be used were, *Novo Methodo da Grammatica Latina*, by Antonio Pe-

reira; and the *Arte da Grammatica Latina*, by Antonio Felix Mendez. In every town throughout the provinces, one or more professors were appointed for the same purpose, to which were added others for teaching Greek, rhetoric, logic, and other literary arts. And still further to prove his love for literature, and to show the exalted opinion he entertained of its influence upon mankind, and with the hope of elevating its professors both in their own estimation and in that of the people, Pombal determined that they should enjoy the various privileges attached to *nobreza* in Portugal; and so it was accordingly decreed.

In a despatch from the Portuguese minister then resident at the Court of Vienna, which despatch is preserved in the Archives of the Legation, and dated November 3rd, 1759, we find the following flattering testimony to the widely spread reputation of Pombal, and to the fame of his educational reforms. "The new method for the Latin and Greek classes established in Portugal has been approved of here; and the President of

the Aulic Council has expressed his desire to see the same method applied in the empire."

The effects of Pombal's enlightened system of education, adopted by the Austrian Government, were soon developed; for, from a subsequent despatch, we learn how fast the Jesuits were losing ground in the dominions of Maria Theresa. The Portuguese minister writes to his government in a letter dated April 1st, 1759, to the following effect. "The Archbishop being informed that the Jesuits taught in the colleges the doctrines of Ballumbau and of his commentator (authors whom the crime of Ravaillac made notorious), prohibited them. This prelate curbs the Jesuits, and they regard him with fear, which is augmented by the knowledge they have of the respect with which their Majesties consider his virtues and his talents." And in the months of September and November following, the writer further adds: "It is made known that the University of Vienna is withdrawn from the hands of the Jesuits." And, "Their Majesties have written to the General of the Dominicans and of

the Augustins, to send them two learned theologians capable of teaching the true doctrine, and of extirpating the doctrine that the Jesuits had been introducing in their Majesties' states—a doctrine pernicious not only to the consciences of their subjects, but to the lives of sovereigns." Finally, to deprive them as much as possible of the education of the Austrian youth, the Theresianum, or school for the nobles, was taken from them, and placed under the direction of the Archbishop.

I must not omit the mention of an event which happened about this time, 1759, as it reflected great honour on the firm and decided conduct of Pombal, and caused his name to be viewed with increased respect throughout Europe. Admiral Boscawen, in the pursuit of a French squadron commanded by Admiral de la Clue, came up to them off the port of Lagos on the Portuguese coast; where, forgetful of the law of nations, and the respect due to the privileges of a neutral power, he proceeded to attack and capture them in sight of the Portuguese fortress. Upon this,

Pombal forwarded such an energetic remonstrance to the Court of St James's, that Lord Chatham, properly appreciating the motives which influenced him, and aware of the bad effect such an action would have upon the European Courts were it not explained away, despatched Lord Kinnoul to Lisbon to palliate and apologise for the conduct of the Admiral.*

Among other reforms, the practice of immuring persons of either sex in convents, where they passed their days in idleness, if not in vice, and became heavy burdens on the state, was not overlooked. The disgraceful scenes which had been acted in the convent of Odivellas, the theatre of Dom John the Fifth's debaucheries, and of which we have already made mention, furnished Pombal with a sufficient excuse for reforming these establishments. He abolished one half of the convents for females, and prohibited for the future all religious societies, whether male or female, from receiving any novices before they

* See Appendix, Note 1., at the end of this chapter.

attained the age of twenty-five; and not even then without an express permission from the King.

Such are a few of the reforms effected by Pombal during the first ten years of his ministry; and it was no over-strained compliment, but a just appreciation of his merits, that induced his countrymen to inscribe under his portrait, the following lines from Horace—

"Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori."*

* See Appendix, Note 2., at the end of this chapter.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI.

Note 1. page 311. As soon as intelligence of this event reached England, Lord Chatham immediately wrote to Mr. Hay, expressing his regret at this breach of the law of nations, and concluded his despatch by declaring, that "if the circumstances of the supposed grievance should come out to be of sufficient magnitude, such is the King's strong desire to give the most public and ostensible satisfaction to the King of Portugal, that his Majesty will not, I believe, even be averse to sending an extraordinary mission on this occasion."

Lord Kinnoul was accordingly sent to Lisbon as ambassador, and, shortly after his arrival, on the 29th of March, 1760, was admitted to the royal presence, when he delivered the following address: —

"J'ai les ordres du Roi de la Grande Bretagne, mon très-auguste Maître, de déclarer à votre Majesté Très-Fidèle, que Sa Majesté a trop à cœur les droits des Souverains, et particulièrement les égards dûs à l'honneur de la Couronne de Portugal, pour n'avoir pas appris avec grand regret, l'incident imprévu et fâcheux survenu près de Lagos.

"Ces sentimens de Sa Majesté lui ont suffis (quelques

doutes qu'il se pourrait faire) pour me charger de cette mission extraordinaire envers Votre Majesté Très-Fidèle, enfin de désavouer au nom de Sa Majesté tout ce qui, dans la chaleur de la poursuite, peut avoir donné la moindre atteinte aux immunités de la côte de Portugal, comme entièrement contraire à ses intentions royales, dont un des objets les plus chéris a toujours été, et sera, de maintenir inviolablement l'amitié la plus étroite entre sa couronne et celle de Portugal.

" C'est dans cette vue, Sire, et par les motifs d'une affection distinguée, que le Roi mon maître s'est fait un plaisir de donner à V. M. T. F. ce témoignage éclatant de la sincerité, et de l'étendue de sa consideration pour votre personne royale, ainsi que de son attention particulière pour le lustre de votre couronne.

" J'ai d'ailleurs, Sire, les ordres les plus précis d'assurer Votre Majesté de la sensibilité la plus vive avec laquelle le Roi mon maître a été touché des évènemens arrivés dans vos royaumes, qui n'ont heureusement servi qu' à déployer de plus en plus aux yeux de toute l'Europe la magnanimité et la sagesse de Votre Majesté.

" La lettre que j'ai l'honneur de présenter à Votre Majesté confirme ces sentimens du Roi mon maître, que je viens d'exposer par ses ordres plus au large à Votre Majesté, aussi bien que sa confiance entière dans l'amitié réciproque de Votre Majesté, dont l'expérience lui a fourni tant de preuves."

At this period there were no settled rules or practice of precedence amongst ambassadors at foreign courts. It was not until the Congress of Vienna that these

points were definitively arranged. A question consequently arose at Lisbon between the ambassadors of England and France touching their rights, which were often contested even in the royal presence. On this occasion Pombal recommended "that the King of Portugal should send a declaration to all the ambassadors, that the entrance to his room of audience gave no precedence, and that he would for the future receive ambassadors according to the time of their residence at this Court:" — thus anticipating the decision of the Congress at Vienna.

Note 2. page 312. The despatches of Mr. Hay and of Lord Kinnoul afford us some knowledge of the passing events of the period. In one, dated June 3d, 1758, we learn that Pombal had lately sent his son to Rome to be educated. At which place he was to remain two years, and then proceed to Germany.

Diogo de Mendonça, the late Secretary of State for Marine Affairs, was brought to Lisbon in 1758 to be banished to Mazagan.

In the month of March, 1760, Lord Kinnoul writes: "The Count d'Oeyras has been confined to his couch by a very ugly accident of a slip in getting into his coach, which tore the skin off both his shins; but he is now in a way to be soon well." And in August following, this minister again wrote: "The Count d'Oeyras has been for some days much indisposed with a violent defluxion in his eyes, to which he is subject, particularly at this time of the year."

On the 10th of March, 1760, the Council of State

was re-established; and the Cardinal Patriarch, the Archbishop of Evora, Dom John de Bragança, the Marquis of Tancos, and the Count Baron d'Alvites were appointed to compose it.

I will allude to one act of Pombal's at this period, which were well if it were generally imitated at all the liberal courts of Europe. It was the custom at the Hague to allow foreign ministers to bring with them on their arrival whatever they pleased; but afterwards they had to pay duty on every thing they imported. Pombal retaliated, and refused greater exemptions to the Dutch minister at Lisbon, than those enjoyed by the Portuguese minister at the Hague.

Pombal himself, on a former occasion, exhibited in his own conduct an example of that liberality which he thus sought to extort from the Dutch Court. On taking leave of the Court of St. James's in 1745, he was presented with the amount usually received by ministers of his rank, of 300*l.*, which he nobly refused to accept. This disinterestedness forms an era in diplomatic history, as Pombal was the first minister who resigned a perquisite so inconsistent with the dignity and independence of a royal representative.

CHAPTER XII.

State of the Army at Dom Joseph's Accession — Victories formerly gained by the Portuguese — And in the Peninsular War — Origin of the Quarrel between Portugal and Spain — Its Continuance — Family Compact planned — Its Object — Demands of France and Spain — Reply — The Spaniards invade Portugal — They publish a Manifesto — General Indignation it created — Portugal declares War against France and Spain — Memorable Sentiments of Dom Joseph on this Occasion — Defenceless Condition of Portugal — England sends Troops and Supplies — Count la Lippe arrives and takes the Command of the United Forces — Spaniards compelled to evacuate the Portuguese Territories — Peace concluded at Fontainbleau — Article 21st — Valuable Services rendered by La Lippe — A Navy is created by Pombal — Departure of La Lippe — His Advice to the Officers.

CHAPTER XII.

When Pombal assumed the administration of affairs, it is certain no branch of the service required more vigorous reforms than the army. Eight, or at most ten, thousand ill-disciplined troops were all the country could muster, to repel invasion, or chastise an enemy; while the state of the fortifications throughout the kingdom was such as to render them worse than useless. To what a miserable condition the feeble government of Dom John V. had brought the army, we learn from the following passage written by Barelti, in the year 1759, in his account of Portugal:—"I am told that the troops maintained in this kingdom amount to no more than eight thousand; and if the private men are all like those I have seen at Estremos and in Lisbon,

there is nowhere in Europe an equal number that look so wretched. The greater part of them are absolutely in rags and patches; and in Lisbon many of them asked my charity, not only in the streets, but even where they stood sentinels." It is possible to believe, however, that the condition of the army was exaggerated or misrepresented; but, allowing the one or the other, it is undeniable that it was in a most deplorable state.

To a certain extent the fortifications had been already repaired; but the disastrous events that occurred in the early part of Joseph's reign prevented Pombal from directing his attention, and appropriating the resources of the country, to the organisation and discipline of an army. Deserving as are the Portuguese of the reputation of good soldiers, and distinguished as they have ever been, under active and enterprising leaders, for discipline and valour, it was not a difficult task to procure good soldiers, when efficient commanders were found. Pombal knew that, in their numerous engagements with the Spaniards,

they had obtained the most splendid victories, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, when inferior in numbers and pressed by difficulties. He knew that they had achieved these victories from their love of independence, and a national feeling of confidence and superiority; which, even when imaginary, often supplies the place of numbers. He recollected that, at the famous battle of Aljubarotta, so early as the year 1385, ten thousand Portuguese routed forty thousand of the flower of Spain;—that ten thousand Spaniards were left dead upon the field, including three Princes of the blood, and much of the chivalry of the kingdom;—that in 1659 the Spanish general, Don Louis de Haro, left six thousand men dead on the field of Elvas, besides prisoners to a considerable amount;—that in 1663, at the battles of Ameixal and Montes Claros, twelve thousand Spanish troops, then reputed the best infantry in the world, were destroyed or captured;—and again, that at the battle of Villa Viçosa, in the following year, ten

thousand Spanish troops were slain, and four thousand taken prisoners: and he saw no reason why armies as efficient as these might not again be organised, disciplined, and brought into the field. Nor was he long before he had accomplished his object. Had he been endowed with a prophetic spirit, it would have told him how gallantly his countrymen would fight and conquer in the Peninsular campaigns, when war would cease to be a combat for glory, and become a struggle for life, and all that makes life valuable,—liberty, independence, homes, wives, children, and kinsmen. For in that sanguinary war the Portuguese acquitted themselves as became the soldiers of an ancient and honourable nation, and performed acts of valour and intrepidity, deserving of a more distinguished notice, than the partiality and prejudice of English historians have been pleased to award them.

It was well, then, that Pombal had begun to take active measures for the formation and disciplining of an army; for events soon proved that Portugal required all the valour of

her sons, and the energies of her governors. This will be understood by what follows.

For nearly a century previous to Pombal's administration, Spain and Portugal had been engaged in continual quarrels respecting the Colonia del Sacramento, or Nova Colonia, situate on the north bank of the Rio de la Plata. This river had always been understood and acknowledged as the southern boundary of the Portuguese possessions in Brazil. A proof of this, among others, was the fact that in 1680 the Spanish governor of Buenos Ayres having taken possession of the Colonia del Sacramento, Charles the Second, then king of Spain, ordered its immediate restitution to the crown of Portugal, with ample compensation for the damages that the colonists had sustained; while the governor was punished for his conduct in disturbing the existing harmony of the two countries.*

* In the excellent compilation of Viscount Santarem, lately published, and entitled "Quadro Elementar," &c., the following account of the satisfaction offered is given.

"1680. Neste anno sabendo-se em Portugal a aggressâo

Also, by the 6th article of the treaty of Utrecht signed in 1715, it is expressly declared that Spain renounces all right and title to the northern bank of the Rio de la Plata, and that the said territory belongs to the king of Portugal, his heirs and successors. By this and other treaties, the fulfilment of which was moreover guaranteed by England, the above possession was firmly secured to Portugal. Constant altercations and disputes, nevertheless, continued between the two countries. Again, the treaty of exchange was made between Portugal and Spain in 1750, and was intended definitively to determine this long-disputed boundary question. But there still remained a contest respecting a

que o Governador de Buenos Ayres tinha feito no colonia do Sacramento, o Regente, com todo o vigor, obrigou a Corte de Madrid a emendar o erro d'aquelle Governador; mandou retirar de Madrid o seu Ambaixador, o qual antes deixou uma protestaçâo de que, se nâo dessem dentro de 20 dias a satisfaçâo que era devida, tivessem por declarada a guerra, e por este modo fez que a Corte de Madrid mandasse logo a Lisboa um Embaixador para dar a S. A. a satisfaçâo que pedisse.

large extent of territory, reaching from the Rio Pardo to the establishments of the Jesuits in Paraguay. Finally, a treaty signed February the 12th, 1761, between the two countries, professed to decide the whole matter, and to cancel all previous treaties.

While affairs were in this state, and the points of dispute seemed to be determined, the Duke de Choiseul planned and cemented the celebrated Family Compact between France and Spain. Charles the Third was then King of Spain, and Choiseul succeeded in persuading him that the most advantageous and certain mode of weakening England would be by attacking Portugal. Voltaire with some reason calls this manœuvre the greatest political stroke that modern history records. But, he adds, it was unsuccessful. Les Anglais ont resisté à l'Espagne, et ont sauvé le Portugal.

But the members of the Family Compact had something more in view than merely diverting the forces of Great Britain. Spain desired once more to unite Portugal to her dominions; and

France was eager to seize her valuable colonies. But Pombal was accurately informed of all their designs long ere they were declared; and upon that knowledge urgently solicited assistance from England as the most ancient ally of Portugal.*†

In the mean while, with a duplicity which cannot be sufficiently reprobated, the king of Spain wrote to Dom Joseph, declaring that he had no views on the crown of Portugal, but required his Most Faithful Majesty to close his ports to the English; and that, if the forces of his Most Faithful Majesty were not sufficient to support

* It will be recollected, that it was at the latter end of the year 1761, when Lord Chatham retired from the ministry, since, as he himself expressed it, he was no longer allowed to *guide*. Suspecting the plans of France and Spain, he had proposed to declare war against Spain before the Bourbons were prepared, and the Spanish treasure was arrived from America. Lord Temple was the only member of the Cabinet who supported him. Three months after Lord Chatham's resignation, *war was declared* by his successors in the ministry. In the voluminous negotiations between England and Portugal at this period, the correctness of Lord Chatham's views is fully confirmed.

† See Appendix, Note 1., at the end of this chapter.

that purpose, he would assist him with his own army. It is needless to add, that both Dom Joseph and his Minister were indignant at this disgraceful proceeding and insulting proposition.*

Shortly after, Lord Tyrawley arrived at Lisbon. On the 16th of March, 1762, the Courts of Versailles and Madrid sent notes to that of Lisbon, demanding in the space of four days a positive answer whether or not it was the intention of Portugal to renounce the English alliance. To these peremptory notes Pombal replied, within the period specified, "that his Most Faithful Majesty ardently desired, in consideration of his neutrality with the three Crowns, to offer his mediation in order to renew the conferences that had been recently interrupted, and to spare the effusion of more blood; that he could not in the face of so many treaties declare himself against his ancient ally; and that he would not expose his people to the horrors of

* See Appendix, Note 2., at the end of this chapter.

war, a state which so many recent misfortunes had put it out of their power to carry on."

After some other ineffectual attempts on the part of the French and Spanish ambassadors, they abruptly quitted Lisbon towards the end of April without taking leave.

During this period Pombal was not inactive in preparing the means of defence. The Count d'Unhão was appointed governor of Elvas. The Marquis of Louriçal took the government of the Algarves. Dom John de Lancaster received the command of the province of Minho; and José Felix da Cunha that of Beira. Dom Rodrigo de Noronha, brother to the Marquis of Marialva, and who enjoyed the highest military reputation in Portugal, was created a Lieut.-General and recalled to Lisbon. Recruits poured in from the provinces, and stores arrived from England.

On this occasion Pombal said, "If the Spaniards take umbrage at these military preparations, it will only be a stronger proof of their evil intentions; for a neighbour that is affronted because I

shut my door, may fairly be suspected of an intention to rob me."

On the 5th of May, although war was not yet actually declared by either of the parties, the Spaniards, under the Marquis of Sarria, entered the Portuguese territory, and marched into the province of Tras os Montes; and, in a few days after, took possession successively of Miranda, Bragança, Chaves, and Moncorvo. The Marquis then published a Manifesto to the effect "that his sole motive in entering Portugal was to deliver the kingdom from the English yoke; that he and his troops came as friends; but that in case of resistance he should employ against the Portuguese themselves the forces that were intended against the English." Such shallow pretences to conceal perfidy and ambition filled the whole nation with indignation. Pombal now saw that hostilities were inevitable, and, notwithstanding the almost defenceless condition of the country, boldly declared war against the two countries, and ordered all correspondence between them and Portugal to cease.

French and Spanish subjects were directed to leave the Portuguese territories in fifteen days, and notice was given to all the subjects of his Most Faithful Majesty to return home without delay.

The Courts of Versailles and Madrid replied to the declaration of war by asserting their *right* to make war on Portugal because she preferred the English alliance to that of France and Spain!

The sentiments of Dom Joseph on this occasion are worthy of record. He said, "It would affect him less, though reduced to the last extremity, to let the last tile of his palace fall, and to see his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than to sacrifice, together with the honour of his crown, all that Portugal holds most dear, and to submit, by such extraordinary means, to become an unheard-of and fatal example to all pacific powers, who will no longer be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war shall be kindled between other powers with which the former are cemented by defensive treaties."

Never was Portugal in a worse condition for carrying on a war. But difficulties vanished before the mighty mind of the great minister. With incredible celerity 36,000 foot, and 6000 horse, besides the militia, were raised, and properly accoutred, to which 5000 were added to form the artillery. England, not unmindful of her ancient ally, sent 10,000 men; and at the same time despatched the celebrated Count La Lippe* to take command of the united forces of the two countries; while to the Prince Charles of Mecklenbourg Strelitz was confided the direction of the artillery. An army like this, animated with patriotism, and incensed against the perfidy of the Spaniards, could not be long ingloriously engaged. On every side the Spaniards were worsted, and in a short time, such was the vigour with which the operations were conducted, that they were driven before the victorious allies, and

* La Lippe was born in England, and served in the Guards when young. His name is respected in Germany as the early patron of Herder and Abt.

compelled to evacuate the Portuguese territories.*

The particulars of this war can have no place here. A treaty of peace was at length concluded at Fontainebleau in 1763; by the 21st Article of which it is declared, "that the French and Spanish troops will evacuate all the territories, fields, cities, forts, and castles of his Most Faithful Majesty, situated in Europe, that may have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, without any reserve; and will restore them in the same condition in which they were when the conquest was made, and with the same artillery and military stores that were found in them. And with respect to the Portuguese colonies in America, Africa, and the East Indies, if any change has occurred, everything will be replaced in the same state in which they were, and in conformity with preceding treaties which subsist between the courts of Spain, France, and Portugal before the present war."

* See Appendix, Note 3., at the end of this chapter.

Though the English troops were withdrawn, their general did not accompany them. He remained in Portugal for some time after, assisting Pombal in disciplining the troops, and putting the fortresses of the kingdom in a state of defence. Elvas was strengthened by the addition of a fort which still bears the name of La Lippe; probably the only memorial in Portugal to remind that nation of the important services rendered by that successful commander. Dom Joseph, affected by the friendship of George the Third, wrote to thank him for having sent to Portugal so valuable a man. That La Lippe was deserving of the highest honours and rewards the Portuguese nation could bestow, all were aware. But the noble general was not mercenary. He refused all pecuniary recompence, contenting himself with the glory he had obtained, and the possession of a nation's gratitude. He was a strict disciplinarian, an indefatigable commander, and an enterprising officer. He was exceedingly jealous of the reputation of a soldier; and it is said, that he insisted that no

officer should refuse to fight a duel on pretence of scruples of conscience, under penalty of dismissal from the service.*

Peace having been thus restored, Pombal turned his attention to the navy, which was in a more deplorable condition than the army before he commenced its re-organization, for it was reduced to two ships! and such was its weakness, that the Algerine corsairs were accustomed to make descents on the coast, and plunder the inhabitants. They also attacked the merchant vessels, so that they were compelled to remain in port until a convoy could be spared to protect them. Under these circumstances, Pombal set more than three hundred English shipwrights to work in the dockyard and arsenal at Lisbon; and such was the steadiness and celerity with which they laboured, that in a few years the Portuguese navy was augmented to ten ships of the line and a proportionate number of frigates. And that the colonies might be as well protected

* See Appendix, Note 4., at the end of this chapter.

as the mother country, he despatched vessels with engineers, workmen, and materials, to Mozambique and Brazil, to build forts in those countries.

Spain was uneasy at the continuation of these warlike preparations after peace had been concluded, and anxiously inquired to what end they tended. Pombal replied, that his preparations were only what every one had a right to make, namely, to be prepared against sudden attacks of his enemies. But the Spanish government was not satisfied with the sincerity of this answer until a Portuguese minister arrived at Madrid, and La Lippe took his departure for England. Before the latter left Portugal, he addressed letters to the colonels of the different regiments, enforcing in the strongest terms the necessity of preserving that military discipline which he had introduced. He further proved the esteem in which he held the genius of Pombal, by recommending them in all future emergencies to seek the advice and assistance of that distinguished statesman.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII.

Note 1. p. 326. So early as the 23d of May, 1760, M. de Mello, Portuguese minister at London, by the directions of Pombal, had called upon the British Government for assistance, *if necessary*, against the French, whose intrigues and intentions were at the same time fully communicated. We learn Pombal's sentiments on this subject from a despatch written by Lord Kinnoul, and dated April 16th, 1760. "The Count d'Oeyras told me that indeed France cannot, in their present situation, do us any great prejudice. Their marine destroyed; their commerce ruined; their population diminished; their agriculture neglected; their finances so exhausted, that they do not know how to find the means of supplying the necessary expenses of the war; their people at the same time loaded with impositions; their ministers ignorant of the true interests of their country; and their councils not guided by the rules of sound policy."..."Indeed he (Pombal) knew that twenty years ago a plan had been formed at Paris and sent to Madrid, to invite Spain into an offensive war against Portugal, and to propose the partition of the dominions

of his Most Faithful Majesty, by which the kingdom of Portugal and the islands were to be annexed to the Crown of Spain, and France was to have the Brazils. That he thought that the ministers of the Court of Spain must be very short-sighted if they ever gave into such a proposal; that they must not suppose that all the rest of Europe would sit still with their arms across, and be willing to receive the law from France; that if France was in possession of the Brazils, and the other colonies belonging to the Crown of Portugal, they would soon be too powerful for the rest of Europe, and Spain itself would feel the effects of that power." "The Count d'Oeyras attributed the part which France seemed determined to act towards this Court, chiefly to their favourite view of distressing the trade of Great Britain."

Note 2. page 327. A despatch from Mr. Hay, dated February 9th, 1762, thus eulogizes the conduct of Dom Joseph and his minister on this trying occasion: —

"I must do the Count the justice to say, that amidst the reflections that must naturally occur upon the prospect of so great a calamity as that which is expected to happen, I have always found him perfectly cool and calm, steady to his principles, and clear in his expressions, and the system he has laid down — which confirms me in my opinion of the superior talents of this minister; but which would be all lost if they were not supported by his royal master, whose fortitude and magnanimity cannot be sufficiently admired. He has

displayed these virtues upon other occasions, but never in so conspicuous a light as at this time, when without cause or provocation on his part, and even after the warmest expressions of affection and assurances of friendship from his brother-in-law (the Spanish king), he sees himself, his family, and his subjects at the eve of being a sacrifice to the wicked machinations of French councils, and his kingdom perfidiously invaded by his nearest relations. Self-preservation is a natural principle in time of danger; and the situation of this country after so many great calamities might very naturally have suggested contrary measures. But this great and good monarch goes upon a nobler plan — a just resentment of so perfidious a conduct; and the noble resolution of standing forth, together with the ancient ally of this Crown, in defence of the liberties of Europe."

Note 3. page 332. Lord Tyrawley gave a pitiful account of the state of warlike preparations which he found on his arrival; but he confesses that "the Conde d'Oeyras seems to facilitate every thing as I could wish." And in another letter comments on the calm resolution of Pombal in the following words: "the Conde d'Oeyras seems quite easy under the distresses of his country."

It appears that the Spaniards had 40,000 men between Zamora, Salamanca, and Ciudad Rodrigo. At the siege of Miranda, on the 7th of May, 1762, a powder magazine blew up, which unfortunately killed several

hundred men, and made two breaches in the walls. The Governor surrendered the next day.

Bragança and Chaves were open cities, having no defences but old ruined walls. The fortifications of Valença, however, were completely repaired; and the enemy met with checks in two places — in the passage of the mountains of Monte Alegre, between Chaves and Oporto; and in the attempt to pass the Douro near Torre de Moncorvo.

Pombal thus informs Mr. Hay of the first of these checks: —" Vous trouverez ci-jointe la substance des informations que nous venons de recevoir des provinces de Tras-os-Montes, Minho, et Beira. De la première des dites provinces, on a été ici fort mal informé par M. le commandant agé de quatre vingt ans passés. Si on le laissait faire, il marcherait devant les ennemis jusqu'à Jerusalem. Mais Messieurs de Lancastre et d'Almada, l'ont fait suspendre sur les pas des montagnes de Monte Alegre," &c.

The Count de la Lippe arrived at Lisbon on the 3d of July, 1762. A week after, he writes to the British Government: " I have employed every day since my arrival to get information of the real state of the military preparations they are now making in this country. I found most things surpass, by much, my expectations, and particularly the manufacture of muskets. There is powder, cannon, bullets, and founderies. These things only want order. There are also pretty good workmen."

This praise is, however, a little qualified in a subsequent despatch, two months later, written from the provinces. "Since my arrival at this army, I found things greatly different from what I expected when at Lisbon, where military preparations, on account of being almost under Count d'Oeyras's eye, go on with more vigour, zeal, and activity."

Note 4. page 334. Before La Lippe's departure, Mr. Hay informs us, "the affairs of the army have been put under an entirely new regulation, concerted between the Count de La Lippe and the Count d'Oeyras. The regiments of two battalions have most of them been reduced to one, and the establishment proposed to be kept up is thirty regiments of infantry, — some twelve some fourteen companies of sixty men each, — which will amount to about four and twenty thousand foot. The cavalry will be about six thousand men."

In the same despatch, dated June 22nd, 1763, the offences of the two Swiss colonels are alluded to. "During the campaign last year, two battalions of Swiss were raised. The command of the one was given to M. Thorman, and the other to M. de Saussure, both of them Swiss officers who had served with reputation in other countries. But the conduct of these gentlemen has not answered the expectation of the Court. M. Thorman, after having committed many irregularities, has thought proper to leave the country. He has since been tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be hanged in effigy. M. de Saussure, who is under

confinement in the castle of St. Julian, has also been tried. The principal accusation against him is that of false musters. The sentence of the court-martial declares him incapable of serving his Most Faithful Majesty, and to continue a prisoner until he has refunded the sum of which he has defrauded the Government."

As every act of the Government during Pombal's administration was so misrepresented by the Jesuits and his other enemies, this, and similar plain accounts of the passing occurrences, will serve instead of a lengthened vindication.

It may be curious to learn the nature of the presents that La Lippe received on his departure. "His Highness, the reigning Count de Schaumbourg Lippe, has taken leave of the Court, and will embark to-morrow (Sept. 20th, 1764). The presents his Highness has received are six small pieces of cannon of massive gold of very curious workmanship, with his Highness's coat of arms upon each, upon carriages of Brazil wood bound with silver plate, and the wheels of silver; a diamond star for his Order of the Black Eagle; his Most Faithful Majesty's picture set in diamonds, and a set of diamond buckles."

When we consider that Pombal was the contriver or director of every reform and negotiation at this period carrying on, whether in the Home, Foreign, or Colonial Departments, we cannot withhold our amazement at his still finding time and energies to devote to the

superintendence of the army; for, as the concluding part of Mr. Hay's despatch informs us, he added the duties of commander-in-chief to his other responsibilities. "His Most Faithful Majesty takes the military affairs under his immediate care, and of which the Count d'Oeyras will have the principal direction."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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ANALYTICAL INDEX.

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL AFFAIRS.

Pages

Bayldon On valuing Rents, &c. - 3
" the Valuation of Property for Poor's Rate - - - ib.
Crocker's Land-Surveying - - 7
Davy's Agricultural Chemistry - 7
Johnson's Farmer's Encyclopædia 13
Loudon's Encyclopædia of Agriculture - - - - 16
Low's Elements of Agriculture - 18
" Breeds of the Domesticated Animals of Great Britain - ib.

ARTS, MANUFACTURES, AND ARCHITECTURE.

Brande's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art - - - 5
Gwilt's Encyclopædia of Architecture - - - - - - 10
Loudon's Encyclopædia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture - - - - - 17
Porter's Manufacture of Silk - - 23
" " Porcelain & Glass ib.
Savage's Dictionary of Printing - 25
Ure's Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines - - - - 31

BIOGRAPHY.

Aikin's Life of Addison - - - - 3
Bell's Lives of the most eminent British Poets - - - - 4
Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge - - - - - - ib.
Dover's Life of the King of Prussia 8
Dunham's Lives of the Early Writers of Great Britain - ib.
" Lives of the British Dramatists - - - - ib.
Forster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England - - 9
Gleig's Lives of the most Eminent British Military Commanders - ib.
Harford's Life of Dr. Burgess - 10
Jackson's Life of Wellington - - 13
James's Life of the Black Prince - ib.
" Lives of the most Eminent Foreign Statesmen - - - - ib.
Maunder's Biographical Treasury - 20
Roscoe's Lives of eminent British Lawyers - - - - - 25
Russell's Correspondence of the Duke of Bedford - - - - 25
Shelley's Lives of the most eminent Literary Men of Italy, Spain, and Portugal - 26
" Lives of the most eminent French Writers - - - ib.
Smith's Memoirs of the Marquis de Pombal - - - - - 27
Russell's Correspondence of the fourth Duke of Bedford - - 25
Southey's Lives of the British Admirals - - - - - - ib.

BOOKS OF GENERAL UTILITY.

Donovan's Domestic Economy - 8
Hints on Etiquette - - - 11
Hudson's Parent's Hand-book - 12
" Executor's Guide - - 13
" On Making Wills - - ib.
Manual for Mechanics' Institutions 18
Maunder's Treasury of Knowledge 20
" Scientific and Literary Treasury - - - ib.
" Treasury of History and Biographical Treasury - ib.
" Geography - - 20
Riddle's Diamond Latin-English Dictionary - - - - - 24
Short Whist - - - - - - 26
Thomson's Domestic Management of the Sick Room - 69
Tomlins's Law Dictionary - - 30
Waltzing, Essay on - - - 31

BOTANY AND GARDENING IN GENERAL.

Callcott's Scripture Herbal - - 6
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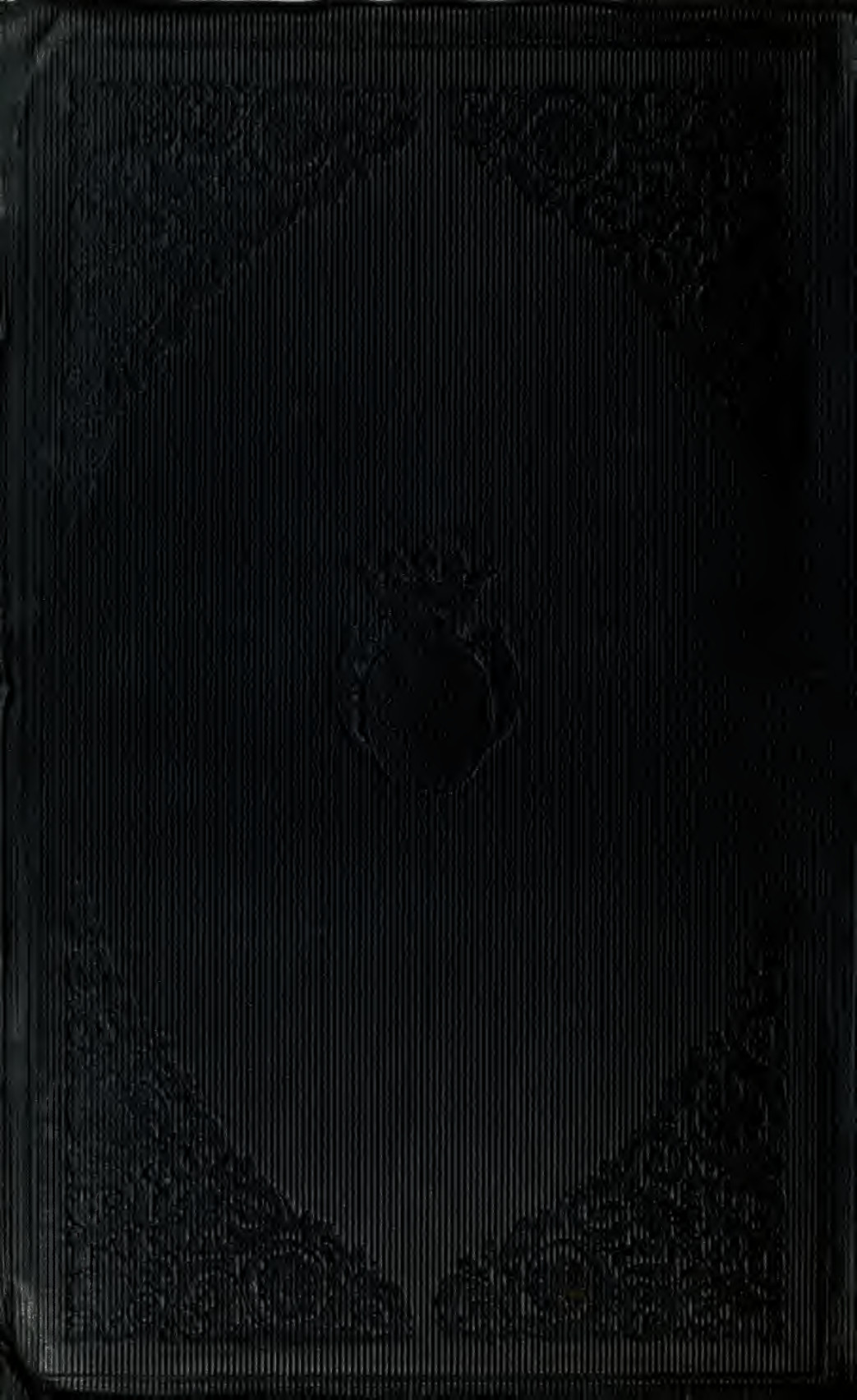
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